

Railroad Workers' Victory—by George M. Harrison

WILLIAMS COLLEGE
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To Find Truth

Much of truth is found upon the battlefields of controversy, and it is kept alive by sharp exchanges. There is a common phrase, "to strive for truth," and it well may be taken as an expression of the basic aim of a free university. We must hope, therefore, that common wisdom will permit us the strife if it expects us to achieve the truth.

Free universities have many powerful enemies. It is perhaps too much to expect that we can enlist their cooperation, but we must never tire of explaining ourselves to the public and of hoping for at least a tolerant understanding. Time and again, we must assert that what we feel most deeply is a responsibility to find the truth.

As conditions become less favorable for the flourishing of free universities, and as the means of warfare become less humane, the position of free universities in the states that encourage them becomes more crucial.

Periods of increasing tension tend to become periods of increasing repressions. Soon freedom of speech may become only freedom to say acceptable things, and even thinking, except for the orthodox, may become precarious.

The great danger is that we may lose our most valued possessions in the act of defending them.

Free universities have a special obligation to see that we do not become what we seek to destroy, that we never yield the rights of man to the force of men.

Lawrence A. Kimpton.

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RAILROAD WORKERS' VICTORY

By **GEORGE M. HARRISON**

*President, Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks;
Third Vice-President, American Federation of Labor*



MR. HARRISON

THE seventeen associated railway labor organizations, commonly referred to as the non-operating unions, have won approval of the union shop and the check-off of union dues in one of the most important findings made by a Presidential Emergency Board in the history of the Railway Labor Act.

In a sweeping report which sustained nearly every labor viewpoint in support of the union shop, the three-man Emergency Board issued a strongly worded recommendation that the nearly 400 carriers which were parties to the dispute adopt provisions of the union shop on a nationwide basis.

The Emergency Board was appointed by President Truman on November 15 following refusal of the railroad companies to negotiate with the unions for the union shop on a nationwide basis and the subsequent failure of the National Mediation Board to bring about a settlement of the dispute. The Emergency Board was composed of David L. Cole of Paterson, New Jersey, Aaron Horvitz

of New York City and George Osborne of Stanford University, California. The hearings, which lasted twenty-one days, were held in the Interdepartmental Auditorium in Washington, D. C.

In addition to an almost point-by-point concurrence with arguments advanced by the seventeen railway labor organizations in support of the union shop, the Emergency Board's report included forceful points of its own in concluding that the union shop is "now a common technique in labor contracts in American industry generally."

Citing a recent study of some 2,600 labor agreements made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, which found that 59 per cent of the agreements and 72 per cent of the 5,500,000 employees in the industries in question now have the union shop, the Board pointed out in its report that "the union shop has been substantially adopted by American industry and the trend is still in that direction."

Commenting on the merits of the union shop, the Board said:

"Individuals who do not share with their fellow employes the cost of the union's activities, the benefits of which they are perfectly willing to accept, present a problem in equities which is very real. They incur the displeasure and resentment of those who are members, and this may cause frictions and feuds which will lead to disunity in the normal causes of the employees, a result definitely not in keeping with the purposes of the Railway Labor Act."

Compulsory union membership was prohibited by the Railway Labor Act in 1934 and the prohibition was written into the act at that time as a means of relieving railway workers of company unions that were foisted on them during the 1920s. To enable the unions to negotiate union shop agreements it was necessary first to amend the act. Congress passed the enabling amendment in January of last year.

Counsel for the carriers in the hearings before the Emergency Board attacked the constitutionality of the amendment. While disclaiming any authority to pass upon the legality of

the statute, the Board said that, upon examination of such decisions of the Supreme Court as seemed to bear upon the matter, "we cannot find any basis for substantial doubt as to the validity of a statute authorizing a closed or union shop."

"While the question of constitutionality does not seem to have been expressly considered, the Court has assumed on a number of occasions that the objections to the closed shop raise only policy consideration which are within the range of legislative discretion," the Board said.

Carrier testimony throughout the hearings had been built around technical stumbling blocks which their counsel had used for trying to discredit the unions or even the right of the Emergency Board to recommend settlement of the dispute. But the Board report stamped that argument inconsistent with the carriers' former practice of enforcing membership in company-dominated unions. Said the Board:

"We are both puzzled and struck by the fact that carriers appear before us bitterly opposing the union shop on basic principle, and yet have themselves recently entered into such agreements with other unions on their properties. In fact, some even after the dispute before us had already been referred to the National Mediation Board."

The Board pointed out several examples in the air and railroad transportation industries, both regulated by the Railway Labor Act, of union shop agreements being adopted with one or more of the unions whose proposal was being resisted by the other carriers. This was in reference to union shop agreements which are now in force with some of the country's leading carriers, including the New York Central Lines, Baltimore and Ohio, Northern Pacific, Burlington, Illinois Central, Southern, Denver and Rio Grande Western, New Haven, Lackawanna, Great Northern, Lehigh Valley and the Pullman Company.

Union shop agreements between the seventeen cooperating railway labor organizations and the New York Central and its subsidiary lines, Baltimore and Ohio, Northern Pacific and Lehigh Valley, were negotiated while this dispute was still in the process of mediation.

In another slash at the inequity of the carriers' argument, the Board wrote:

"We might also point out the numerous examples of union shops on wholly or partly owned subsidiaries of the railroads, including bus and truck operations."

The Board also recommended that the agreement between the unions and the carriers providing for the union shop embody the check-off of union dues. On this point the Board's report pointed out:

"The check-off is generally prevalent in American industry. The above-mentioned study of the Bureau of Labor Statistics shows that some 78 per cent of the employees covered by collective bargaining agreements have the check-off. In addition, it is provided for in agreements with many railroads. We therefore find that a check-off should be instituted."

The Board went on to say that it is exceedingly rare for unions to be required to pay the expenses entailed in the deduction of dues. It said, moreover, that on the railroads this expense would be offset in part at least by not having the time and the attention of employees diverted by dues collections, and the carrier would also have the benefit of knowing whether employees are meeting their financial obligations to their union and would therefore avoid needless disputes. Accordingly, the Board concluded that the carrier should not be compensated for making the deduction of dues from employees' pay checks.

Details in connection with the working out of plans for the check-off of union dues were left for the parties to agree upon.

The railroads fought doggedly

throughout the hearings against a recommendation that the negotiations between themselves and the unions for the inclusion of the union shop and the check-off of dues in working agreements be conducted on a nationwide basis. As has been pointed out, it was the refusal of these railroads to bargain with the unions on the national level that brought the dispute to the emergency board status.

On this point the Board fully sustained the position of the unions, pointing out that movements initiated in the past twenty years, by either the carriers or the labor organizations, for changes in wages, hours or working conditions have been handled on a joint national basis.

"No sound or convincing reasons were advanced for handling the dispute in any other manner," the Board said in its report. "The National Mediation Board has undertaken to process this dispute substantially along the customary lines, and if required to mediate this dispute as a separate one between each carrier and each organization, it would have to find the manpower for over 600 separate disputes, which would be a practical impossibility, and such a course would lead to long, unwarranted and discouraging delays in working out settlements."

The report points the way not only to the settlement of the immediate dispute over the union shop. It also points the way to getting back on the sound basis of collective bargaining which for years distinguished the railroad industry and developed exemplary labor relations.

It is to be hoped that the recommendations will be accepted not merely because they favor the unions but because they are so completely in line with current trends in union-management relations and because the prompt settlement of the union shop dispute would do much to restore the once wholesome relations between management and labor on the nation's railroads.



Sweep the People's Enemies Out of Congress
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Tax Policy for the Long Pull

By **MATTHEW WOLL**

Chairman, A. F. of L. Committee on Taxation

SHORTLY after the turn of the century, total state and local tax revenues were \$860 million; federal tax revenues were \$560 millions. For the current fiscal year, state and local tax revenues will total approximately \$18 billion, but federal tax revenues are expected to be in excess of \$64 billion.

Prior to 1913, state and local governments depended for their revenue principally on the property tax; the federal government relied almost entirely on receipts from excise taxes and customs duties. There were virtually no direct taxes based on ability to pay.

The story of how our tax system has developed into an effective instrument of national policy based much more largely on ability to pay is most exciting. Covering the period of the past sixty years, it shows how citizens and their representatives in Congress worked against tremendous odds to secure the enactment of laws based on sound policy. Knowledge of these past events may lead to a better understanding that will provide the basis for further positive action in the future.

On August 28, 1894, Congress approved an income tax measure that was assailed by the moneyed interests of the day as a "communistic," "confiscatory," "socialistic" and "totalitarian," approach to revenue needs. Bitterly criticized by a conservative legal profession and press, the law was challenged in the courts and declared unconstitutional by a 5 to 4 decision of the Supreme Court in May, 1895.

That early forerunner of present-day income tax legislation proposed a 2 per cent tax upon income. Opponents argued not only that the law was unconstitutional but declared it was discriminatory. They pointed out that while wealthier states, such as New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and New Jersey, would pay the bulk of such a tax, a disproportionately large part of the proceeds would be spent in poorer states. Proponents of the law, on the other hand,

declared that revision of the tax system, in the main supported by the poor without regard for ability to pay, was overdue.

These advocates of the income tax principle stuck to their guns and, during the years following the passage of the 1894 income tax measure, gained support inside and outside of Congress. In 1911, by unanimous vote, the Supreme Court declared that the tax on corporate incomes enacted by Congress in 1909 was constitutional.

What, you may ask, was the difference between the provision of the 1894 act which had been declared unconstitutional and the provision of the 1909 act? The 1894 act was declared invalid because it was a direct tax on income from real and personal property. The 1909 act was a tax upon the privilege of doing business as a corporation, the amount of the tax to be measured by the net income derived from business as well as from property or investments not used directly in the business.

The same Congress that passed the Corporation Income Tax of 1909 by joint resolution adopted President Taft's further recommendation that Congress propose an amendment to the Constitution giving the federal government the power to levy a tax on income, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several states. On February 3, 1913, following ratification by Wyoming, the thirty-sixth state, the income tax amendment became a part of the Constitution.

Within four years World War I brought about tremendous changes. Expenditures rocketed to \$19 billion in 1917. Taxes formerly reckoned in millions were estimated to yield an increase of \$2½ billion under the War Revenue Act of the same year. The act raised the maximum rate of 6 per cent on individual incomes established under the 1913 law to a maximum rate of 67 per cent.

Liberals and conservatives are in substantial agreement that too much

income went during the Twenties to groups in the form of savings which were not productively employed; far too little income went to the millions whose entire earnings were required for food, clothing and shelter. A tax policy under which successive decreases were made in income tax rates permitted the accumulation of savings which led to speculation and inflated prices that were not based on wide-



MR. WOLL

spread purchasing power in the hands of the American people. Administrators in Washington during the Twenties, supported by a majority in Congress, were responsible for the passage of a series of tax bills which undoubtedly contributed substantially to bringing about the crash of 1929 and the depression of the Thirties.

Franklin D. Roosevelt had stressed the need for national economy during his campaign in 1932. When he assumed office on March 4, 1933, he learned that prospective receipts for the fiscal year ending on June 30 of that year were two billion dollars

while expenditures were estimated at more than four and a half billion dollars. Farmers and manufacturers were unable to dispose of surpluses. Millions were in danger of losing their homes under mortgage foreclosures. More millions were unemployed and without funds or credit to buy the surplus food or clothing piled high on farms and in factories.

In the face of this nationwide emergency of catastrophic proportions, President Roosevelt did what the situation demanded. He employed the credit and all other resources of the national government to reassure home owners, to restore confidence in the banking system and simultaneously to create new purchasing power for workers that would move surpluses from farms, factories and stores and start the wheels of production into motion once again.

Such a program of necessity placed emphasis on government spending; virtually every group of our citizens required government help. Talk of balancing the budget was heard principally from those few who saw the importance of government aid for themselves but styled aid for others as wasteful and socialistic, insisting that it would lead inevitably to dependence on the state and destruction of our basic American virtue—our capacity for self-help and independence in the face of adversity.

Nonetheless, as economic conditions improved during the Thirties, specific as well as general revenue measures designed to strengthen the economy were enacted by Congress on recommendation of the President. Tax rates on both corporate profits and personal income were increased; estate and gift tax rates were raised; loopholes in the tax laws that permitted certain groups of taxpayers to avoid payment of millions of dollars to the government were closed.

However, up until World War II the federal tax system did not become as progressive as it had been during World War I. Its continuing regressive character may be realized from the fact that total federal revenues from excise taxes and customs duties in 1942 were \$3,334 million, or \$83 million more than the \$3,250 million collected from the individual income tax in that year. Moreover, when sales and gross receipts taxes of \$2,353 million and personal income taxes of \$548 million collected during

the same year at the state and local levels are included, the record shows \$5,687 million as the total collections from taxes on consumers as against \$3,799 million in revenue on individual incomes at all levels of government.

During the war the overall tax system became steadily more progressive, until in 1945 approximately 65 per cent of total tax revenue at all levels of government was raised through taxes on individual and corporate income. Even during the war the efforts of certain groups to secure enactment of higher excise taxes and a general sales tax at the federal level continued; with the close of the war these same groups were influential in securing the enactment of several tax reduction measures which unduly favored taxpayers in the upper income brackets.

Revenue from both the individual and corporate income tax will in-

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crease considerably as a result of several tax measures enacted since the outbreak of the Korean war, although the income tax burden will be less equitably distributed than it was under the 1944 act. Moreover, the "emergency" excise taxes imposed during World War II have remained in effect and under the 1951 act they were increased by an estimated \$1.2 billion yearly. Federal excise and customs tax revenue, therefore, will have risen from \$6 billion in 1945 to well in excess of \$9 billion in 1952.

This rise in taxes on consumers at the federal level has been accompanied by similar increases in state and local revenue from sales and gross receipts taxes, which in 1945 stood at \$2,434 million and by 1951 were approximately \$5,753—an increase of approximately 135 per cent.

As long as defense emergency expenditures continue, it is obvious that federal taxes will continue at high levels. The acceptance of a high level

of expenditure, however, does not lessen the need for scrutiny of both defense and non-defense items. Effective utilization of our manpower and natural resources requires the elimination of all unnecessary expenditures.

At the federal level it is essential that if and when defense needs taper off, revisions in tax laws should be thought through carefully. Hasty and ill-considered tax reduction measures, which were so characteristic of the Twenties and the four years following World War II, should be avoided. The importance of developing a national tax policy with increasing recognition of state and local revenue needs cannot be overemphasized.

State and local governments raised close to \$17 billion in taxes in 1950. In 1932 the same units of government spent \$7.4 billion. Taking into account the fact that population has increased by 22.7 per cent, that the 1950 dollar was worth 56.7 cents in terms of the 1932 dollar and that states and local governments in 1950 are giving many services that were non-existent in 1932, taxpayers of today are probably receiving more for their state and local tax dollar than they do in other sectors of the economy.

While it is the true that the federal government returns in excess of \$2 billion in aid that finds its way into expenditures of state and local governments, those governments are required to put up funds of their own to qualify for receipt of much of that federal aid.

Moreover, the need for still more revenue at the local and state level is urgent. During the next five years an average of 1,000,000 children per year will enter the public schools of our nation; new buildings, equipment and supplies and additional teachers must be provided. Hospitals and mental institutions are needed in many communities. Existing state and municipal services must be expanded. Expanding defense facilities have increased the demand for local and state services in many areas.

Some of the few wealthy states and communities may be in a position to take care of these needs. The great majority, however, do not have resources adequate to do the job. A number of states which could do a better job of raising revenue to provide needed services are stymied because of antiquated tax systems and

outdated constitutional restrictions.

During the early Thirties, when many unemployed were faced with cold, hunger and eviction, real estate speculators who had reaped rich harvests during the Twenties found it comparatively easy to sell voters on the idea that property taxes were too high. They talked quite persuasively of millions of dollars of income that were going untaxed. A number of states passed laws or constitutional amendments limiting the tax rate that could be levied on real estate.

Unfortunately, passage of limitation amendments did not stop the need for tax revenue. More unfortunately, when time arrived to discuss the need for new taxes a strange forgetfulness of the need for taxes on untaxed income developed.

The consequence was that in state after state the influential groups which controlled the legislatures of the period pushed through sales taxes and a variety of other taxes on consumers. By 1951 approximately 60 per cent of the \$9 billion in state tax revenue collected was derived from taxes on consumers. In individual states the proportion of revenue derived from consumption taxes runs as high as 85 per cent.

In addition, the situation is deteriorating in a number of states in which local communities, despairing of securing sufficient aid from the state, are enacting local sales taxes, payroll taxes, head taxes and a multiplicity of nuisance taxes to supplement local real estate taxes.

These taxes combine to throw a dis-

proportionate share of the tax burden on those in the low-income groups. Further, they do not now produce enough revenue and carry little promise of providing adequate revenue in the future.

The income tax has demonstrated and continues to demonstrate its effectiveness as a revenue producer and as a necessary check on inflation. Taxes on consumers, on the other hand, actually are contributing to feed the inflationary forces at the present time.

A larger portion of federal, state and local taxes should be secured from taxes on income for the long pull as well as during times of emergency. Planning to this end should be under way now. It should not be deferred until the time when defense expenditures taper off.

Green Light for Pension Plans

AFTER more than a year of deliberation, argument and delay, the Wage Stabilization Board has finally decided that elderly pensioners are not responsible for inflation. In a new policy ruling, adopted on February 22 and issued as General Wage Regulation No. 21, the Board agreed to remove employer-financed pension plans from the cold storage vault.

Unions are now free to negotiate and establish paid retirement programs for their members, or to improve existing plans, without incurring a penalty in so doing. Employer contributions toward the cost will no longer be charged against any wage increases which might otherwise be permissible under wage stabilization regulations.

The regulation places no fixed limits upon the amount of benefits which may be provided upon retirement or in case of permanent and total disability before retirement, nor upon the amounts which employers may contribute to a pension fund. Unions and employers are free to adopt any type of benefit formula, or method of determining the amount of pension to be paid to retiring members, that they desire.

The only specific restrictions to which they must conform in order to obtain "automatic" approval for their plans are as follows:

(1) The normal retirement age for full benefits must be at least age 65.

Benefits paid to employees who retire before age 65 must be reduced to the extent necessary to take account of the shorter period of service before retirement. Except in the case of early retirement for disability, they must also be reduced to take account of the longer period of life expectancy during which the pension will be paid and other "actuarial" factors.

(2) Payment of benefits, except death benefits, must be spread over the lifetime of the employee. They cannot be paid in a cash lump sum.

(3) The plan cannot provide for the payment of cash benefits, derived from employer contributions, to employees who sever their employment before retirement. However, "deferred vesting" rights, whereby the employee receives a paid-up annuity or permanent equity in the pension fund which will pay off when he does reach age 65, may be provided.

Before a plan can be put into effect, the union and employer must file a report of the details of the plan directly with the Wage Stabilization Board in Washington. The Board is now preparing a special form for this purpose. Copies of the form will be available at offices of the Wage and Hour Division of the Labor Department.

The Board will acknowledge receipt of this report, and unless the parties are notified to the contrary within 30 days after the date of the acknowledgment letter, they may put their plan

into effect as of the effective date provided for in the terms of the plan.

Reports of pension plans which do not conform to the restrictions described, or which the Board feels may be "unstabilizing" on other grounds, will be treated as petitions for approval, and the unions and employers will be so notified. Such plans cannot be put into effect until the parties receive notice that the Board has approved them.

The regulation imposes the further requirement that a plan must eventually obtain Bureau of Internal Revenue approval for tax exemption before the Board will regard it as "finally" approved. However, the parties do not have to sit out an extended wait for Internal Revenue approval before putting their plan into effect, but may do so as soon as it clears the Wage Stabilization Board.

Regulation No. 21 also covers "profit-sharing" plans of the deferred compensation type. Profit-sharing plans which provide retirement, total and permanent disability or severance benefits may be put into effect, after Bureau of Internal Revenue approval, if (1) benefit payments do not begin until at least ten years after an employee's admission to the plan and (2) such payments are payable over at least a ten-year period.

Approval is subject to the same reporting and waiting-period procedure as in the case of straight pension plans.

Asia's Plantation Workers

By RICHARD DEVERALL

A FEW months ago your correspondent traveled through the tea plantation areas of fertile Assam and West Bengal, both in northeastern India. Assam faces Upper Burma to the east—an area infiltrated by both Burman and Chinese Communists. West Bengal faces Communist Tibet to the north.

We found the plantation system in full gear. Large areas had been cultivated carefully for years with rows of tea bushes lined up and a tree now and then providing a bit of shade in a humid Assam that enjoys an unmerciful sun.

The center of each plantation was the factory or processing plant where the workers bring in the thousands of "two leaves and a bud" each day. They are fermented, dried, cleaned and sorted before being shipped overseas for further processing, packaging and sale to tea drinkers the world over.

Next to the modern factory the most imposing structure to be seen was the "bungalow" of the planter—usually a European—and we soon found out that the term "bungalow" designated a sprawling structure which in the United States would be called a mansion.

Not far from the planter's house we generally found substantial cottages in which lived the educated and upper-class Indian employees of the plantation—the engineers, doctors and so forth.

Then over beyond the fields of greenish-black tea bushes we would find the coolie houses in which the working people lived. These houses are windowless mud huts.

These people work, live and die in a plantation industry which in many essential features is like the slave plantations of long, long ago in other parts of the world.

Some of the plantations have "clinics," but when we thumbed through the doctor's book, we found that everyone either had a "fever" or



MR. DEVERALL

"diarrhea." A few of the plantations have schools of a sort, but the adult workers are paid such pitifully low wages—generally less than ten cents a day—that child labor is an economic necessity for most families. The result is continued illiteracy of the children of workers.

When the sun begins to sink in Assam, you see the long lines of workers streaming in from the four corners of each plantation. Huge reeded tea-baskets on their backs, they trudge along. Another day has become history.

Illiterate, faceless, unknown and unappreciated, the men, women and little children live and die in the little mud huts. Many of the children who labor on these plantations are so young that the baskets they tote are as tall as themselves. The women often have their latest baby slung around in front of them.

The plantation represents a privately owned collective enterprise, and generally a very lucrative one. While in Calcutta we thumbed through the profit listings in the financial journal *Capital* which showed that many of the plantations pay their stockholders annual dividends of 25 per cent, 50 per cent and up to 150 per cent! Contrasting this against the mud huts and the degraded lives of the working people, one appreciates the exploitation of the Asian plantation economy.

The planters and their high-caste Indian helpers enjoy a full measure of civil liberties. But the plantation workers, whether they be in Ceylon, India, Pakistan, Malaya or other parts of Asia, live in "lines" on the estates of their "masters" and cannot entertain guests, not even members of their own families, without the permission of the boss-man. Union organizers cannot visit them at night without the permission of the planter or his boss-men.

Reviewing the picture we saw in Assam and in West Bengal—and it is typical of most Asian plantation areas—we could not but conclude that here is a situation that is made to order for the Communists.

The plantation workers, far too many of them docile and illiterate hillsmen, have nothing to lose. They own nothing but one garment and a few pots and pans. They have no beds, no furniture, not even a picture or a flower vase. They have few rights capable of being exercised other than the right to procreate and the right to die.

When in Ceylon, and visiting dozens of plantations high up on the mountainsides of that gorgeous island, we were able to talk to many of the plantation workers. And we came to know that their major grievance is not bad housing, not underpayment, not lack of education, but physical beatings and inhuman treatment.

The white men and educated people of Asia who own and operate the huge plantations live in a caste-frAGMENTED society.

The inevitable result of years of living in such a society is that the top people develop a *Herrenvolk* mentality. They regard the working people who produce the wealth and the profits of the plantations as "coolies" instead of as fellow human beings, made by God, and worthy of the respect due all human beings, regardless of race, color or national origin.

And thus we take note of the most dangerous aspect of the plantation economy which is so widespread in Asia, and that is the racist aspect. As we must realize, the great upsurge of Asian nationalism is primarily a drive of the colored man to recover his human dignity.

The Asian worker who has been tossed around almost as a semi-slave for many decades is coming into his own. He will no longer be called a "coolie." He intends to be free. And it is right that he should be free.

The employers on the tea, cotton, peanut, rubber and other plantations which occupy so much of the rich soil of Asia have been organized. There are Estate Owners Associations, Rubber Planters Associations and similar organizations. Then over them are Asia-wide Rubber Growers Associations and so forth which coordinate and partly control the employers' associations in the several countries.

As the International Labor Organization has pointed out, most of the capital invested in Asia's plantation industries is European—and presumably most of the profits flow back to European owners and stockholders.

On the side of the workers, the lack of civil liberties coupled with the gross illiteracy of the workers has

made union organization almost impossible. Yet the need is urgent.

We were in Kuala Lumpur, in the Malayan Federation, discussing the working conditions of the rubber workers. During the course of the discussion with the local Planters Association, we asked about the number of vacation days per year. One haughty employer replied:

"Well, we allow them three days free time per year!"

After recovering our breath, we said:

"Three days off per year? Man, don't they even have Sunday free?"

"Well, they can have it if they want it," replied another planter. "But they are so anxious to make money and they like their work so much that we just can't keep them from working."

Employer opposition to the organization of unions is very strong. The employers do not seem to realize that they sit on a powder keg, for the Communist agitator finds in the unorganized plantations his most fertile breeding grounds for communism.

Obviously, the best antidote for the Communist menace would be a complete reorientation of the plantation system so that the worker can earn wages sufficient to afford him a pri-

vate house, a plot of land on which to grow his own food and decent schools to which his children may go and liberate themselves from the shackles of illiteracy.

The governments of Asia must take action to make the organization of free trade unions possible, for unless such unions are organized and the workers of non-Communist Asia learn to defend themselves and win a greater appreciation of their God-given human dignity, the way is open for the Communist agitator and the Communist military aggressors.

This is one of the principal reasons why as early as 1949 the Free Trade Union Committee of the American Federation of Labor drew up plans for an Asian Labor College. The present writer discussed the idea with Bombay labor leaders and then sent copies of our proposal to other labor leaders throughout India.

In 1950 the American Federation of Labor suggested the establishment of an Asian Labor College to the I.C.F.T.U. Later that year, when the Asian mission of the I.C.F.T.U. visited Asian countries, they found that the A. F. of L. proposal for an Asian Labor College was the most welcome topic of conversation.

The Asian (Continued on Page 31)

Toilers on highly profitable plantations own nothing, have few rights, are worked hard and paid little



IT'S UP TO US

By JAMES L. McDEVITT

Director, Labor's League for Political Education

TO BE a success in politics you have to be practical. It takes money and a majority of the votes to win an election. So it is only logical that a politician who succeeds in getting elected is going to be kind to those who helped finance his campaign and cast their votes for him.

Sometimes the politician who is elected in a given district does not truly represent the wishes of most of the people residing therein, as reflected in public opinion polls. But you may rest assured that he is careful to represent the wishes of those who actually put up the campaign funds and cast the votes.

Unfortunately, in recent years less than half the eligible adults in this country have voted on Election Day. A quick look at the campaign fund reports filed after election shows where the money comes from. It flows principally from the special interest lobbies and from wealthy individuals who want their pet projects protected even at the expense of the public.

What can you do about it? The answer is quite simple. First, you and I and millions of other Americans with no special axe to grind can join forces on Election Day to elect men who will honestly represent the public interest.

The more of us who vote, the more good men will be elected. History proves that. In 1932 and 1934 and again in 1936 record vote turnouts resulted in three Congresses in a row which passed more beneficial social and labor measures than all the Congresses in the previous 140 years.

Starting with 1938 the vote on Election Day fell off. By 1946 it was so bad that only 37 per cent of the potential voters cast ballots, and thus the terrible Eightieth Congress was elected. And the first action taken by that Congress was the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Two years later in 1948, an aroused public,



MR. McDEVITT

sick of the arrogant misrule of the Eightieth Congress, cast 12,000,000 more votes than in 1946 and elected the best Congress in a decade. The vote slipped back a bit in 1950—and so did Congress.

Now, for 1952, the question is simply this: Will enough ordinary American citizens cast ballots this time to elect a Congress which will truly represent them?

Within our own A. F. of L. ranks we have the answer to much of that question. Surveys show that almost 5,000,000 of our 8,000,000 members are registered voters. So that leaves 3,000,000 more right within our own ranks.

In addition, there are the wives and husbands and adult relatives of each A. F. of L. member's family. Assume just one such relative per family and assume that half are not now registered. That is another 4,000,000 non-voters right within our ranks who are not now registered.

Don't worry about ringing doorbells in the wealthy suburbs or out in the farm areas to get more registered voters. That kind of voter usually votes against our best interests. We should concentrate on getting our kind of people registered so they will vote for the kind of Congressman we like on Election Day. We will find our kind of people right in our own union halls.

The second thing we can do is see to it that our friends have enough funds to run a campaign without having to accept money from the special-interest lobbyists, who naturally expect a payoff. We don't have to put up \$500 or \$1000 apiece as the lobbyists and wealthy do. All each of us has to do is give just one dollar to join Labor's League for Political Education. Every dollar goes for the support of candidates endorsed by the state and local branches of L.L.P.E.

The key to victory is to contribute, register and vote. That's the key—there is no other.

TURMOIL IN ITALY

By IRVING BROWN

A. F. of L. Representative in Europe

ITALY, France and Germany have remained, since the end of the war, the crisis countries of Western Europe. These three nations, embracing almost 140,000,000 in population, really constitute what is continually referred to as the European or continental problem. Concentrated in those three lands are the major political, economic and military problems of NATO.

France is the geographical pivot; Germany is the industrial heartland with its borders right up against the Iron Curtain; Italy is the strategic boot jutting out into the Mediterranean—one of the lifelines of the democratic world.

We can describe the Italian situation as either in, coming out of or moving toward a crisis, whether political, economic, military or all three. This is true in spite of the progress made since the dim, dark days of 1944-1947.

Although large amounts of American aid have been given to Italy in recent years, the basic problems remain—too many people, inadequate natural resources and large masses of unemployed.

No amount of internal reforms, which certainly are necessary and urgent, especially tax and land reform, will solve these fundamental questions. Without a wider European economic unity, new markets and sizable emigration, Italy cannot through its own efforts resolve its difficulties.

The crisis in Italy today is essentially a political one. However, no one can ever ignore the mass of poverty and the tremendous amount of full and partial unemployment which overshadows everything. But yet, in spite of poverty unknown in the rest of Western Europe, the favorable point of contrast to France has been Italy's high degree of governmental stability since the elections of April,

1948, when the Communist Party received a clear-cut majority and was able to constitute a stable coalition with the Republican Party and the newly-organized Socialist Party of Saragat.

This permitted DeGasperri, one of the most able and rare statesmen of postwar Europe, to steer a centrist course between the Communists and the extreme rightists who were either within or outside the Christian Democratic Party. This kind of democratic Christian-Socialist alliance is, in the best analysis, the only possible alternative to a Communist political solution for the Continent.

It is precisely this formula for political stability which is in jeopardy today in Italy. A series of developments on the "left" and "right" of Italian politics has contributed to the weakening of the center coalition line. The Socialist Party, still in the throes of internal factionalism with about four different groups, reaffirmed at its Bologna congress in January its decision to remain an opposition party.

At the same time the right-wing groups both within the Christian Democratic Party and in the new Fascist Party, M.S.I., have been making enough gains so as to weaken the democratic center of gravity in Italy and make DeGasperri's task all the more difficult on such issues as land reform, tax evasions, excessive profits and interest rates and the price inflation which once again provides fuel for the Communist Party's propaganda fires.

Last June's local election results were astounding proof of this weakening of the democratic alternative to the totalitarian solution. The Christian Democratic Party's total vote added up to 35.9 per cent, while the combined Communist Party and pro-Soviet Socialist Party of Nenni

vote totaled 36.4 per cent. At the same time, the Fascist vote increased, especially in the South and Sicily, while the United Democratic Socialist Party polled a mere 8 per cent.

This vote, as compared to the national elections of 1948, was a gain for the Communists but, as compared to the 1948 local elections, was a decided loss.

The new election law, which permitted the Christian Democrats and the democratic Socialists to combine forces in the city and provincial councils, resulted in a tremendous loss of seats for the Communists throughout Italy, including key industrial areas. But the result of the elections definitely pointed up the dangers which may keep Italy in an actual or potential critical state.

These dangers are the constant maintenance of Communist Party strength among voters and trade unionists, the breaking up of the stable majority of DeGasperri plus the continuing abstention of the Socialists from the government, and the weakening of the center's left support (the Socialists) while the right-wingers gain either through the M.S.I. or through increasing influence in the councils of the Christian Democratic Party.

The political history of Italy for the last seven years has had its counterpart in the tremendous movements since 1948. The government's political stability has been strengthened through the breaking away of the non-Communists from the C.P. controlled trade union federation, the C.G.I.L., and the eventual setting up of a new C.P., united, independent trade union federation, the C.I.S.I.L. under Giulio Pastore.

Although still in a minority, the Communist Party has become an extremely active and active organization in



MR. BROWN

Italy's major industries. Its formation broke the Communists' monopoly on the Italian trade unions. The existence of the C.I.S.L. is a constant barrier to the political machinations or offensives of the Communist-controlled unions.

And what is even more important, the C.I.S.L. has attempted to weld together Socialists and Christians in one single, united trade union movement to combat both the totalitarian forces and profiteering Italian employers. Unless this can be successfully achieved, no alternative of an attractive nature is available to the millions of workers who now remain in a majority outside of all trade unions in Italy.

This welcome event of trade union unity has been marred by the creation of the U.I.L. under the inspiration of those Socialists who were the last to quit the C.G.I.L. The leaders of this small organization reject organic unity with the Christians in the C.I.S.L. They argue that only a Socialist-oriented trade union competing with the C.G.I.L. on economic demands can win over those who have quit the C.G.I.L. or are still within the Communist Party unions.

If this experiment in trade union unity is impossible, are Italian workers then to draw the conclusion that unity between Socialists and Catholics in one union is only possible when the Communist Party is present? Let us not forget that between 1944 and 1949 there was trade union

unity in Italy of Socialists and Catholics—but along with the Communists!

What is even more serious is the conclusion that trade union unity as in Germany and Austria is possible only when the Communist Party is present and/or the Socialist Party has a majority.

Such an approach reinforces those sectarian, factional forces found in both the Socialist Party and Christian trade union and political movements, which on this issue suddenly become strange political bedfellows since they both believe in confessional and political trade unions.

In recent weeks the dangers facing a united non-Communist trade union movement, such as the Pastore-led C.I.S.L., have been mounting. Although caused by the political situation already mentioned, these trade union developments tend to reinforce the splitting up process in the democratic camp. This bodes ill for democracy's electoral future.

A serious situation is now developing in the Italian labor movement due to the open intervention of both the Socialist Party and the Christian Democratic Party.

At the recent congress of the Socialist Party in Bologna, a resolution was adopted which more or less recommended that its members and workers join the Socialist-controlled U.I.L. trade union movement, even though individuals still reserve the right to join whatever union they choose. About the same time the secretary of the Christian Democratic Party, Gonella, with the support of the Executive Committee, issued a call for the establishment of a Christian trade union federation.

These declarations of the Christian Democratic and Socialist Parties were denounced almost immediately by the C.I.S.L. secretariat, a personal statement by Giulio Pastore reaffirming loyalty to the maintenance of a non-political free trade union organization. The C.I.S.L. organization in the huge Fiat plant in Turin voted along the same lines as the C.I.S.L. secretariat and issued a leaflet to this effect to the 60,000 workers employed there.

It has been reported by a few Socialists that prior to the Naples congress of the C.I.S.L. (November, 1951) and in recent weeks, the Socialist Party people in the C.I.S.L.

organization have been slowly eliminated from some posts and paid positions. There is a growing feeling on the part of some non-Christian party elements of the C.I.S.L. that the pressure of the Christian Democratic Party will succeed in the achievement of a denominational trade union federation. There is great concern among the Socialists of the C.I.S.L. organization with whom I talked when I was in Milan recently. These fears, however, have not come to pass, and the position of Pastore is being upheld and strengthened.

DiVittorio in the name of the C.G.I.L. immediately issued a statement exploiting to a great degree the position taken by both the Christian and Socialist Parties. It has been possible for him to assert brazenly that this proves that the only non-political trade union is the C.G.I.L. which, of course, is a completely Communist Party-dominated organization.

Nobody should, however, underestimate the effectiveness of such propaganda and the extent to which the Communists will be able to profit from this situation.

IT is quite clear that one of the major reasons for these sudden developments is the Italian elections. These will take place in the near future. Every politician is now seeking to find allies as well as ready-made political machines in order to get votes. This intervention by the political parties in the trade union movement is directly tied to the electoral and political developments.

To the degree to which the I.C.F.T.U. has shirked its role of acting as a unifying force in Italy and to the extent to which it has encouraged the U.I.L., organized by one of the Socialist splinter groups, it must assume some responsibility for this new flare-up of political intervention in the trade unions. Some of this damage could be repaired if the I.C.F.T.U. would seize the opportunity to support the position of Giulio Pastore and the C.I.S.L. and condemn the political party intervention in the trade unions of Italy, whether from the Socialist or Christian Party side.

The difficulties experienced in the democratic parties and unions of Italy are not exactly matched in the totalitarian camp, but the Communist Party has been having its share of

headaches. The most important break took place in January, 1951, when two deputies, Aldo Cucchi and Valdo Magnani, broke with the Communist Party and denounced the latter's servitude to Soviet foreign and military policy.

While professing that they were still Communists but anti-Stalinist, they proceeded to the setting up of a movement which has as its task the breaking away of other Communists who are discontented with the internal regime of the party. Since this original break, there have been other deviations from both the Communist Party and the quisling Socialist Party of Nenni.

However, there has been no mass exodus from the Communist Party, although there are many in the party who have become discontented.

Mass disaffection is held in check through physical and moral fear, blackmail, especially against those who were in exile; bureaucratic interests of office-holders who see no future outside of the party and lack of an alternative to compete with the Communist Party, the "Soviet fatherland" and the ideology which, no matter how contradictory and faulty it may become, stands out as a beacon light for Communists in contrast to the quarrelsome world of democracy.

Thus, the Cucchi-Magnani break reflects what is still only a latent



Giulio Pastore, secretary of the C.I.S.L., stands firm for freedom

malady in the ranks of the Italian Communist Party. But the tinderbox of discontent, malaise and even anti-Stalinism does exist.

If Italy's democratic forces can muster enough sparks of cohesiveness, dynamism, power and ideas, the machine can be blown from within.

Certainly, there is no hope for Italy

if the Socialist and Christian forces in the country continue to be unable to find a way to unify on the political and economic front to solve common problems and defeat common enemies.

Toward these important ends the democratic world, and especially the international trade union movement, should lend its efforts.



Helping the Unemployed

Boris Shishkin (*photo at left*), the American Federation of Labor's economist and acting director of social insurance activities, testified before the Senate Finance Committee on February 20 that the Federation is supporting and would like to see prompt enactment by Congress of S. 2504, proposed by Senator Blair Moody of Michigan and fourteen other Senators.

"We believe it is most important," Mr. Shishkin said, "to supplement unemployment compensation benefits, as provided in S. 2504, in order to help the workers subjected to involuntary unemployment in the midst of defense mobilization to meet the hardship of joblessness."

The A. F. of L. spokesman told the Senators that many thousands of jobless workers are exhausting their benefits under existing legislation and "are facing hopelessness in the midst of plenty."

"Is the economic distress of these workers the responsibility of this Congress?" asked Mr. Shishkin. "Labor believes it is."

Labor in the Nutmeg State

By **TIMOTHY M. COLLINS** and **JOSEPH M. ROURKE**

President and Secretary, Respectively, Connecticut Federation of Labor

AS one of the oldest state branches of the American Federation of Labor, the Connecticut Federation of Labor reports with a measure of pride that the A. F. of L. in this part of old New England is growing steadily and is vigorously promoting the interests of the people who labor, both as workers and as citizens.

At the present time the Connecticut Federation of Labor represents more members and more locals than at any other period in its history. In affiliation are more than 460 local unions, thirteen city central bodies, ten building trades councils and twenty-one federal labor unions.

In the past three years the Connecticut Federation of Labor has increased the number of tax-paid members by 41 per cent. During the same period the number of affiliated local unions has increased 28 per cent.

In 1950 there was a net increase of thirty-five locals, and last year sixty new locals were added. While the Connecticut Federation of Labor has been growing, many of our locals have been growing with us. One local union has increased its membership from 900 to 1,200 during the past three years, while another local

has expanded from 900 to 1,400 members.

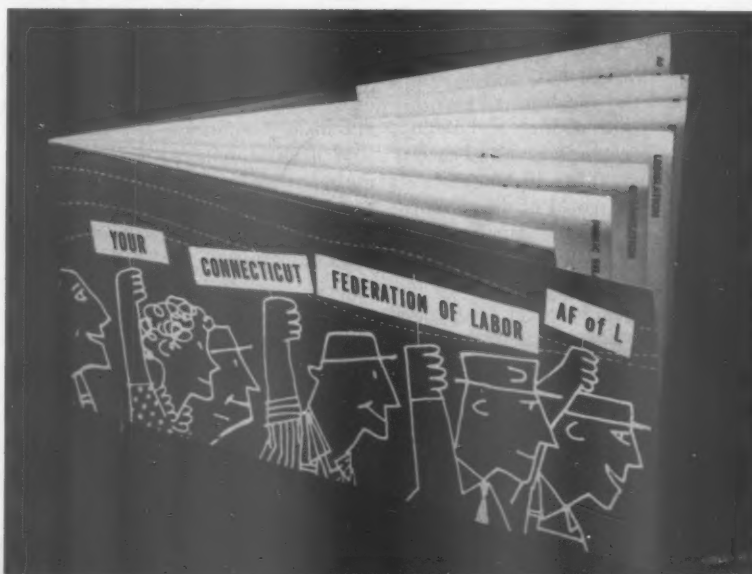
Organized labor's recent progress in Connecticut has been the result of hard work by many people. To increase membership, the Federation added a full-time organizer to its staff. His job was to explore any organizing leads that might come to our attention and to work with the organizers representing the A. F. of L. and the various international unions. A part-time organizer, whose cost was shared by the New Haven Central Labor Council, also joined the staff.

In addition, all vice-presidents of the Connecticut Federation of Labor—there is one for each major industrial area in the state—were made volunteer organizers for the A. F. of L.

Unfortunately, the financial situation forced us to release the paid organizers. However, since we are firmly convinced that it is essential to organize the unorganized working people in our state, we intend to press this very important job to the limit of our resources.

The A. F. of L.'s representatives in Connecticut have been doing a fine

Modern pamphlets are issued by the Connecticut Federation to inform union members and other citizens of labor's activities



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Secretary Rourke (standing) and a class of alert Connecticut trade unionists. President Collins is pictured at the right

job. They have brought some sixty locals into the fold during the last three years.

The Brick and Clay Workers and the International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers are two international unions which have recently chartered their first Connecticut locals.

The Bridgeport Brass Company's employees recently came into the A. F. of L. as a large industrial union. This was the result of dissatisfaction with their previous union affiliation and vigorous organizing efforts by the A. F. of L., aided by the State Federation. The Bridgeport Brass local is now making excellent progress under strong leadership. It is one of the largest units in affiliation with the A. F. of L. in Connecticut at present.

Under similar conditions the employees of the Dictaphone Corporation in Bridgeport were organized as members of the A. F. of L. Smaller than the Brass local, the Dictaphone union is also an upstanding organization.

It is the hope of the working people of Connecticut that the various international unions will recognize that our highly industrialized state offers fertile ground for intensive organizational efforts and will assign more full-time organizers. The need is for

full-time organizers rather than part-time personnel.

To increase affiliations with the State Federation of Labor, the officers have made numerous personal appearances before unaffiliated local unions and described the valuable services which the Federation offers to the locals and their members. In this effort the international unions have been asked to render assistance. It would be a big help if every new local union had written into its charter or by-laws the requirement that affiliation with the State Federation of Labor must be maintained.

Since Connecticut is small in area, it is possible to keep in close contact with the affiliated unions and also with leaders of all phases of government and business. It means, too, that a real job of providing service to the local unions can be done.

It is a basic policy of the Connecticut Federation of Labor that trade unionists in this age must carry on a continuous program of information and education if labor's interests are to be protected and progress is to be made to improve working conditions and living standards.

The information phase of our program includes getting information to our locals and placing the views of



labor before the public. In doing the latter job, the secretary-treasurer of the State Federation of Labor makes innumerable appearances before a great variety of organizations outside labor. These range from the League of Women Voters to the Chamber of Commerce. Every week several invitations to speak before such groups are received. We are now attempting to have our officers appear before the high school pupils of the state in order to introduce them to labor's role in the community and the functions of labor organizations in our democracy.

In 1949 the desire to keep the local unions fully informed led the Connecticut Federation of Labor to form an Industrial Council (along the lines of a Building Trades Council) for all A. F. of L. unions in the state whose members are employed in manufacturing. The Industrial Council meets

quarterly. It discusses mutual problems and exchanges information on contract terms, wages and negotiations for the entire state.

Since its creation the Industrial Council has made significant contributions to promoting higher standards for Connecticut's A. F. of L. unionists and to placing them in a better informed and thus stronger bargaining position when their organizations sit down to negotiate new contracts with the employers.

For all affiliates the State Federation of Labor makes available a legal service. This keeps the local unions posted on legal problems which may confront them. Our counsel has recently undertaken the publication of a legal bulletin which conveys late information on important labor decisions of Connecticut and other courts, N.L.R.B. decisions and new legislation. Also in the legal line the Connecticut Federation of Labor has distributed booklets on the Taft-Hartley Act and on financial statements.

THE process of labor education within our jurisdiction now rests in the competent hands of our director of education and research. She is charged with formulating ways and means to educate our membership and the public on the aims and objectives of the A. F. of L. The director has been responsible for the William J. Fitzgerald scholarship award contest, which is conducted annually. A \$500 award goes to the winner. The scholarship contest, which involves a comprehensive examination based on labor subjects, is open to all seniors in the state's high schools, public and private.

A popular project developed by the director is an annual one-week summer school program for all union members. Dealt with are such subjects as grievance procedures, contract negotiations and labor laws.

Any local union which becomes interested in launching its own educational program is aided by the director of education. The results to date in this field have been good.

On the information side, our director recently prepared an attractive pamphlet on our organization which has received widespread acclaim.

Like other state branches of the American Federation of Labor, the Connecticut Federation is deeply concerned with legislative matters. In



Research Director Elizabeth Irwin is key figure in A. F. of L. movement of Connecticut. Here she chats with Iowa colleague

this area our state, until recently, had always been considered advanced. In the past few years, however, labor's attempts to secure desirable legislation have had scant success.

The Connecticut Federation of Labor in its legislative program has called for sickness insurance comparable to unemployment compensation, unemployment benefits of \$30 a week for a period up to one year during severe unemployment, an increase in workmen's compensation benefits to \$40 a week for the duration of the disability and a lifetime allowance for the widow, an intrastate minimum wage of 75 cents an hour and time and one-half for overtime, anti-discrimination legislation, time off for voting, a minimum salary for teachers of \$3000 a year, the payment of prevailing wages on all printing trade work and the erection of housing for persons with moderate incomes.

The Federation has also sought legislation which would place public employees in the same position, for purposes of economic bargaining, as private employees. Public employees would be accorded the right to have their organizations officially recog-

nized for collective bargaining purposes, to have a grievance procedure and to engage in arbitration.

At the 1949 session political opposition in the Legislature to the then Democratic governor blocked the passage of any legislation to advance labor's interests. When the 1951 session opened there was a Republican governor at the helm, and the Republican lawmakers were then willing to consider some labor measures.

Thus, Connecticut became the first state in the Union to adopt a 75-cent minimum wage for all persons. However, this law does not guarantee overtime rates for work in excess of 40 hours in any one week, as labor had urged.

The workmen's compensation law has been improved somewhat. Maximum benefits have been boosted from \$32 a week to \$36 a week.

For many years officers of the Connecticut Federation of Labor have been politically active. This activity was personal in the past. In 1948, however, the Federation became active in politics as an organization. At that time Connecticut Labor's League for (Continued on Page 26)

BOSTON WILL SEE A GREAT SHOW

By RAY F. LEHENY

Secretary-Treasurer, Union Label Trades Department



MR. LEHENY

LABOR and management—partners in production—will join hands in May to present a striking example of the cooperation and progress under the free enterprise system which have made America lead the world. Coupled with the fact that the American Federation of Labor has contributed incalculable benefits to bring about higher living standards for America's workers, this statement sets the mood and theme for the A. F. of L. Union Industries Show of 1952.

The world's greatest labor-management show will open in historic Boston on May 17 and will continue through May 24. From noon until 11 p. m. daily, many thousands of spectators will witness dramatic and educational exhibits featuring the world's most highly skilled craftsmen, the members of American Federation of Labor unions. The show will be held at famous Mechanics Hall.

Only in America could such an industrial exposition sponsored by labor take place, for only in America have the worker-members of free trade unions developed their artisan skills to the highest degree to produce the most eagerly sought products in the entire world.

Approximately 150,000 square feet of exhibit space in huge Mechanics Hall will be utilized in presenting this mammoth exhibition.

Primarily, the Union Industries Shows are staged to publicize union labels, union shop cards and union buttons and to promote increased patronage of union services and increased sales of union-made-in-America products. The annual shows encourage better relations with fair employers and go a long way to build more widespread public understanding and goodwill for organized labor. This is done by exhibiting before the great American consumer market union-made articles of outstanding quality, many of which are produced right on the floor of the exposition by expert A. F. of L. members.

The 1952 Union Industries Show will feature many types of exhibits. There will be animated displays sponsored by unions, exhibits by manufacturers of nationally known products, joint displays sponsored by both union labor and management, "live" exhibits depicting the numerous skills of A. F. of L. members,

exhibitions sponsored by many government agencies, charitable organizations and, of course, the perennial outstanding exhibit of the armed forces sponsored by the Department of Defense.

In addition, arrangements are being made to present the nation's outstanding vaudeville acts, musical groups, movie and TV performers as an added attraction. Also, as in the past, we will endeavor to make the show live up to its reputation of being the greatest giveaway show in the world, with many samplings of nationally known products and hundreds of free prizes.

Utilizing a dramatic and entertaining motif, this year's Union Industries Show will clearly demonstrate that cooperation between A. F. of L. workers and fair employers has led to better labor-management relations and consequently to greater productivity and a higher standard of living.

The attention of merchandisers, manufacturers and service establishments is called to the vast purchasing power of the millions of organized workers who annually spend billions of union-earned dollars for the necessities of life as well as for other products and services. This vast army of unionized wage-earners and their families constitutes the greater half of the total purchasing power of the entire nation.

The Boston show should prove to be one of our most successful and best attended to date, for when one speaks of Boston one must include the highly concentrated industrial area of New England.

The Boston Central Labor Union and the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor, together with city and state officials and A. F. of L. unions throughout New England, have been active for months in preparing for and promoting the Union Industries Show of 1952. Committees have been formed and speakers have been sent throughout the area. Fair employers, well aware of the vast potential buying power in New England, have also lent their support to this gigantic undertaking.

This spirit of friendliness and cooperation should make the A. F. of L. Union Industries Show scheduled for May an event which will be long remembered by the people of New England.

EDITORIALS *by William Green*

Defense Policies

WE IN THE United States are accustomed to take our free enterprise system for granted, for it evolved out of our necessities and has been kept flexible by the initiative of countless people who adapted its underlying principle to their special problems.

As a result, we have had increasing numbers of organizations in economic affairs, concerned with finances, management, sales, production, including technicians, engineers, etc., and production workers. All have benefited by free enterprise in proportion as they shared in its opportunities to contribute and in the financial return from sale of products. We have achieved much more than normal success in transforming the products of our economy into higher material standards of living as well as keys to intellectual and cultural opportunities.

The incentives of free enterprise develop alert, efficient and responsible citizens who are the nation. Their standards of morality and their faith in God, which gives guiding purpose to their lives, determines the virility and the creativeness of each generation.

When citizens grow soft and are willing to give over decision and responsibility to others, the nation is in danger. Equally dangerous to freedom is the proposal of government to take over decision and responsibility in private matters, for then citizens forfeit duties which rightfully are theirs and out of which they develop strength.

A similar danger to freedom lies in our present setup for defense organization which exists because the Kremlin has declared an irreconcilable conflict against free nations. In our need to protect the South Korean Republic against aggression, we began readying our military forces for action—first in Korea and then for action wherever the Kremlin may strike against constitutional freedom. For a time war seemed imminent, and we initiated a program to facilitate preparedness.

Our free enterprise system moved into action. The Administration adopted a program for the expansion of industries to provide armament with the minimum dislocation of civilian production. Basic industries began extensive construction of new production facilities—power, steel, aluminum, copper, chemicals, etc. Government expenditures for defense materials and services increased three-fold.

Now these new facilities are turning out production that is approaching adequate supplies in steel; there is already a surplus in chrome, while silicium steel is shutting down a few furnaces. Aluminum increased output by more than 14 per cent in the last quarter and expects to reach adequate output in 1953. Copper will be adequate for military products, and substitutes are developing rapidly for civilian production.

Military production has been slowed down by adding a year to its timetable. The Defense Department

has returned sizable amounts of controlled materials and has large inventories. Administrative mistakes in allocation are obvious in high inventories for the defense and defense-supporting production.

Two administrative steps are necessary in order to establish real current requirements before further allocations are made: (1) washing out of all unused claims on controlled materials by the end of this quarter, and (2) a quick survey of military inventories in order to screen requirements. This done, real supply and demand will quickly come to focus so that industries and citizens can take stock of responsibilities ahead and know the measure of sacrifices that are involved.

We should have from the Defense Administration the same kind of accounting to the nation that stockholders expect from enterprises in which they invest. We know that no governmental organization can undertake planning for industries without making mistakes, but mistakes should be acknowledged and corrected. Administrative control of industrial management should be lifted at once so supplies may become adequate with allocations for military production only.

Controls are needed and should be lifted when requirements of materials for a defense program decline and the industries operate below capacity. Sales resistance is another indicator that adequacy has replaced scarcity; so also are increases in exports.

Too long imposition of federal planning and management of industry may so weaken the vitality of free enterprise that we may lose the greatest impetus to our power to defend.

Constitutional Government

IN THE LAST weeks the world has had a most impressive demonstration of the meaning of constitutional government. Great Britain, still a monarchy but limited by the development of its parliamentary system of representative government, which over centuries took over rights and functions formerly performed by the monarch, proclaimed the accession of Elizabeth II as Queen of the Realm, Head of the Commonwealth and Defender of the Faith.

Out of the British Empire has evolved a commonwealth of free nations in which the ruler of Britain, though without power, is the symbol of the unifying ideals and objectives which bind these nations together. The authority of the British monarch now rests in duty to serve and not the right to command—service performed in full appreciation of morality and dependability as qualities essential to national well-being.

The free men of England required their sovereigns to assure them rights necessary to their freedom in living as well as representation in the law-making body. These fundamentals of personal rights were so deeply imbedded in the thinking of our founding forefathers who came to this country that they found that the

personal freedoms of England were also necessary to a good life here.

The British government, guided by a constitution consisting of a series of laws, has a flexibility that enables it to meet changes in world politics and in national thinking without losing continuity in institutions or going through the disintegration of revolutions. The countries of Asia and Africa, now driven by a new and ardent spirit of nationalism, would do well to study the history of the orderly development of free constitutional government which rests upon contracts developed out of agreements freely made and honored by those who made them. Nations cannot have peace and justice except through mutually beneficial agreements faithfully observed in spirit as well as by their terms.

Maintenance of contracts requires a high level of morality within a nation. This is another way of saying that morals are the key to national strength. Until nations learn the self-discipline involved in the exercise of rights and fulfillment of accompanying duties, they need the steadying hand of experience such as is provided by the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations.

Academic Freedom

LAST SUMMER a Yale student published a book which attracted general attention because it seemed to contain evidence of a trend to approve collectivism in the teaching of the social sciences. The president of Yale appointed a committee of distinguished alumni to survey the intellectual and spiritual welfare of the university, its students and its faculty.

This committee has reported no evidence of indoctrination of students with subversive theories and no Communists on the faculty. The report pointed to current confusion about academic thinking and noted that responsibility is the inevitable accompaniment of freedom.

"Academic freedom means the right, long accepted in the academic world, to study, discuss and write about facts and ideas without restrictions, other than those imposed by conscience and morality," the report of the committee said.

The committee further stated that academic freedom should be denied only to teachers who use it to destroy individual liberty or to overthrow by violence our democratic form of government. Teachers, who have the responsibility to help others to find the truth, must be unrestricted in that search and as private citizens have the same rights as others. But even so, the report held, professors cannot escape responsibility for repercussions if their acts and discussion of controversial subjects reflect on the university. Such moral responsibility is adequate to keep persons of integrity in line with the understanding that academic freedom is concerned with the search for truth, not with the advocacy of partisan causes.

The report concluded:

"Whenever national affairs are at a crisis, the ancient rights and privileges that free men have fought for through the ages are in jeopardy. Academic freedom is attacked by authoritarian powers bent on destroying democracy, because academic freedom is the application of free enterprise to ideas. In the minds of dicta-

tors, academic freedom stands in the way of totalitarian domination and therefore has to go.

"There is today, more than ever, widespread realization that religion alone can give meaning and purpose to modern life.

"University education covers so many areas in nature and in human affairs that the resultant impress upon students often lacks wholeness of outlook and fails to furnish direction of life. It is by faith that man sees all things working together in the light of God and gives himself to work with them."

Two Industrial Trends

SINCE THE outbreak of the Korean war consumer non-durable industries have evidenced steadily growing deflationary trends. They constitute about half of our economy. The other half is made up of the defense industries maintained by government expenditures. Their influence is strongly inflationary.

The war scared buyers into a buyers' panic. Producers in turn began to stockpile inventories, and stores were flooded. Sales were initiated—in quality as well as in prices—and these proved an additional inducement. But buyers then became wary and wiser.

Consumer industries using metals have also had to contend against controlled materials plans and more stringent consumer credit regulations. These regulations, in addition to tax increases, have definitely reduced installment buying.

Defense industries were geared to reach the peak load in 1952 and this was to last through 1953. Then the Administration slowed down the military program to extend to 1954. Defense production levels are due to reach \$5 billion a month in January, 1953, but instead of rising to \$7 billion within the next six months, as planned, will continue at a \$5 billion ceiling throughout 1953 and 1954. Defense industries will have boom conditions, while non-durable civilian industries will have to contend with materials problems and careful buyers, who have to spend their dollars wisely.

While the national product will increase, there will be soft spots in our economy. These may spread. Military production does not result in wealth that is creative over the years.

There is danger that the lengthening of defense production may turn more civilian industries to still lower levels and make it increasingly difficult to escape depression in the post-defense period.

Our nation is made up of people who are law-abiding and who believe in our system of government. Even against a background of incredible dishonesty among tax collectors and low moral standards among those designated to enforce tax laws with even-handed justice, we are still paying our assessments promptly and without undue grumbling.

We have faith that honesty and prudence are our best protection. But we become aroused when our representatives cause us to doubt their integrity of purpose.

Those directing defense production are dealing with the very lifeblood of our economy, which involves economic freedom by which all other freedoms are conditioned. We must guard well this key to the citadel of all freedoms.

I. L. O. Becomes a Target

Organization Is Attacked Unfairly

By **GEORGE P. DELANEY**

A. F. of L. International Representative

THE nature of the criticism directed against the International Labor Organization in recent years reveals a variety of misunderstandings concerning that organization and the circumstances under which it functions. Many of the complaints raised against the I.L.O. are purely reflections of different philosophies and attitudes, while others are weird fantasies of imagination. These misunderstandings affect the accomplishments of the I.L.O., and many of the criticisms originating in the United States are even damaging to our national interests.

The purpose of this article is not to defend the faults or weaknesses of the I.L.O., but to take issue with certain unwarranted attacks and to explain the actual functions performed by the I.L.O.

The I.L.O. was created in the treaties of peace after the First World War in answer to the widespread demands of the labor movements in the Allied nations for some international effort to improve the conditions of working people and to counteract the impact of the revolutions which accompanied the close of the war, made possible by the oppressive conditions under which workers lived and toiled.

The I.L.O. was intended to be an international forum for representatives of labor, management and governments. Its immediate aim was to develop international labor standards which would encourage countries to improve conditions in their respective jurisdictions and, by the mutual ratification of conventions covering such standards, to eliminate the labor of human beings as a competitive factor in international trade.

The secretariat of the I.L.O.—the International Labor Office in Geneva—was to collect and disseminate general labor statistics and information, to prepare material for I.L.O. meetings, and to provide technical assist-



MR. DELANEY

ance and advice to requesting governments on all matters in the field of labor. Through these activities the I.L.O. was to serve its basic function of helping to prepare a better foundation for international peace.

The preamble of the I.L.O. constitution states the conclusions accepted at the Paris peace conference that "universal and lasting peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice" and that "the failure of any nation to adopt humane conditions of labor is an obstacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve conditions of their own countries."

The I.L.O. contributes to peace in a manner aside from the conventions, recommendations and resolutions it adopts or from the information it disseminates or the technical assistance it renders. The numerous tripartite meetings conducted by the I.L.O. bring together, from all regions of the world, leaders of the labor movement as well as employer and government representatives who learn to know one another and exchange views and experiences. These meetings develop an atmosphere of under-

standing, which is one of the primary prerequisites for peace. In this manner the I.L.O., with its sixty-five member states, constitutes one of the major instruments for international understanding and cooperation.

Those who make the complaint, heard perhaps more in labor circles than among management people, that all the I.L.O. does is talk and talk, ignore the contribution which an international organization of this type makes toward international cooperation and understanding.

They ask why busy trade union leaders or management people should take time off to attend I.L.O. meetings where a great deal of the talking which takes place produces no concrete results, or why the United States should contribute \$1,500,000 to help keep the I.L.O. going when no tangible equivalent in accomplishments is visible.

The answer is found in an analysis of the manner in which progress is made in the field of international affairs. Raising living and working standards over the world is necessarily a slow and undramatic process, particularly when attempted through the democratic procedures of the I.L.O., which are based on the voluntary actions of each member country.

The procedure for international achievements—other than the course of war, which few people would consider except to preserve their present possessions and rights—necessarily involves a great deal of negotiation to reach agreement.

It is said that even though the I.L.O. has developed and adopted 100 conventions (draft treaties) and ninety-two recommendations incorporating labor standards, little has been gained because relatively few nations ratify such conventions or pay much attention to the standards therein. It is true that no country has ratified as many as half of the I.L.O. conven-

tions and some have not ratified any, but this alone cannot be taken as an accurate reflection of the influence which these international labor standards have on labor legislation and practices in the various countries of the world.

There have been somewhat more than 1,200 ratifications out of a possible five or six thousand. The number of ratifications is obviously not so important toward the objectives of the I.L.O. as the degree to which labor standards in member states are raised to meet the international standards.

Great improvements in labor standards have been made since the I.L.O. was created in 1919, and the influence of the I.L.O. in this development has been important. The I.L.O. has shown the way for action to be taken by member countries. Standards reflected in I.L.O. conventions and recommendations are more prevalent in countries having effective labor movements. Nevertheless, it is known that the lesser developed countries usually refer to I.L.O. standards when formulating their own labor standards.

THE fact that some sixty countries send worker, employer and government representatives to I.L.O. meetings, where they study problems concerning labor standards and reach conclusions as to what is desirable and achievable, brings these problems to the attention of a world forum of interested parties and provides a definite goal for which all countries may strive.

The fact that the member states are required to report periodically to the I.L.O. on the state of their national legislation with respect to given I.L.O. conventions and recommendations continues to keep these subjects before their eyes and to show how their legislation or practice compares with the international standards. In many cases neither government nor labor representatives are aware how backward their conditions are until they learn at I.L.O. meetings what the situation is in other countries. Just as an educational process, the adoption of I.L.O. conventions and recommendations is a worthwhile expenditure of time and funds.

The complaint is made by many employers and some governments that the I.L.O. attempts to adopt all of its standards in the form of conventions, rather than in the form of recommen-

dations, in the hope that governments will enact the standards through national legislation. It is claimed that this trend encourages government regulation of more and more labor standards, rather than leaving as much as possible to collective bargaining. Here again the problem is one of different political methods in the various member states, and the complaint should be directed at the way labor problems are handled in the various countries rather than at the I.L.O., which only reflects the views of its members.

In this connection, the fear that the International Labor Organization is imposing legislation on member countries is without foundation. There is no obligation either to ratify conventions or to enact legislation. Whatever governmental action is taken, be it the ratification of a convention or the enactment of legislation with respect to standards suggested in conventions or recommendations, is a matter for each country to decide in accordance with its own normal governmental procedures.

It has been charged that the I.L.O. and a majority of its sixty-five member states are socialistic. It is generally conceded that the I.L.O. is anti-communistic. Any attempts on the part of any of the five Communist member states to direct the policy or activities of the organization are re-

buffed by almost all other delegates at the I.L.O.'s meetings.

The word "socialism" has many connotations. It does not mean the same thing to Europeans as to Americans. The same is true of the term "capitalism," which has quite a different implication in most countries from what it has in the United States.

Mr. Warren H. Phillips, in *The Wall Street Journal*, has explained how differently the term "capitalism" sounds in Europe, where most people associate it with hordes of poorly clad workers living in a society where automobiles, telephones, television sets and the like are reserved for the rich, where workers seldom own their homes and are even fortunate to have enough fuel to keep warm. In Europe capitalism means cartels, monopolies and restrictions which hold prices up and keep production down.

Under such circumstances the term "socialism" has a much less fearful connotation in the public mind than the term "capitalism," which to them means mass privation; and when we use the word "capitalism" to refer to our system of free competitive enterprise, it is misunderstood by our European and Asian friends and is likely to breed suspicion and mistrust.

Mr. Phillips says:

"A further contrast must be clearly made if the misunderstanding and distrust through which America is seen



The International Labor Organization in annual session at Geneva

by many European eyes is to be dispelled. That is the contrast between the competitive capitalism of the U.S. and the cartel capitalism of Europe. It is as important to mutual understanding among our peoples as a contrast between West and East."

It is heartening to see this recognition of the selling job we have to do spelled out in *The Wall Street Journal*. Where but in the International Labor Organization, in which American labor and management are independently represented and can deal directly with their counterparts from sixty-five nations of the world, is there such an opportunity to do this selling job where it counts?

We have an opportunity and a responsibility that we cannot afford to pass up. In the I.L.O. we can make a convincing case if we choose to do so. This is a responsibility that lies with American management as much as with labor. We can't do the job if we are afraid of the I.L.O. If in other countries there is a reaction to their restrictive capitalism, we should not simply brand them as "Socialists" and bemoan the fact that we are "out-numbered" in the I.L.O.; we must concern ourselves primarily with a constructive program, rather than merely opposing I.L.O. actions.

We must represent the progressive achievements of our system. We have a positive job on our hands. Our motivation and our interest in helping raise living and working standards must be convincing to our friends.

And, incidentally, our interest—both labor's and management's—is quite properly an enlightened self-interest. Not only to protect our own standards in international competition, but more broadly to demonstrate that progress is possible through the democratic process that is the I.L.O., and that it is not a hopeless matter, with totalitarianism as the only alternative.

A large number of I.L.O. member states would probably disclaim any implication that they were Socialist. But whatever the proper classification of their national political-economic orientation, it is normal that it be reflected in every international organization in which they participate. The United States can no more refuse to participate in an organization of sixty-five nations in which such states participate than it can refuse to cooperate with such states in other as-

pects of international affairs. It is illogical to criticize the I.L.O. because the views of its members are presented at its meetings.

The I.L.O. membership of sixty-five nations includes all the major countries of the world except Russia and the vast majority of the smaller countries. From the standpoint of membership, therefore—except for Communist countries—the I.L.O. reflects the situation in the world today, and to say that we have no business in the I.L.O. because it is "dominated" by countries having this or that political system is tantamount to saying that the United States has no business in world affairs today.

It is a negative and isolationist approach which not only will make impossible any chance of achieving what even such a paper as *The Wall Street Journal* recognizes as so important, but could lead to disastrous results to our national security.



answer the call

The decisions taken in the International Labor Organization represent the views of a large majority of the representatives present. It serves no purpose to label these views with any particular category of dogma, and they are labeled differently when seen from different points of view. East of the Iron Curtain, for example, the work of the I.L.O. is charged as the expression of "monopoly capitalism."

Another complaint directed against the I.L.O. which originates in the U.S. has reference to the constitutional system in the United States. It is stated that the U.S. is in danger of being engulfed by labor legislation enacted by ratification of I.L.O. conventions; that only the Senate—ignoring the House of Representatives—would be involved on the legislative side, and that the federal government

will encroach upon state jurisdiction by the ratification of treaties.

The charge is entirely without foundation for a number of reasons.

The I.L.O. is the only major international organization whose charter recognizes the federal-state relationships existing in member countries having a federal type of government. The I.L.O. constitution specifically provides that the federal government (not the I.L.O. but the federal country itself) shall decide whether a convention is "appropriate under its constitutional system for federal action" or whether it is "appropriate, in whole or in part, for action by the constituent states."

Only in the former case, where states' rights are not involved, is the possibility of ratification considered; and in that case it is in accordance with the provisions of the U.S. Constitution governing the ratification of treaties. Hence, our federal-state relationships are fully protected.

The United States, not the I.L.O., decides what I.L.O. conventions are appropriate to be considered for ratification. Any complaint about the manner in which treaties are ratified by the United States (that is, with the advice and consent of the Senate only, rather than both Houses) should not be directed at the I.L.O. but at the Constitution of the United States.

The enforcement in this country of the provisions of almost all I.L.O. conventions that we might ratify would require either that legislation be enacted by both houses of Congress or that sufficient legislation already was in effect. So that even in those cases where ratification might be possible, the fear that "legislation" can be enacted by the Senate alone is groundless.

Our membership in the I.L.O. does not obligate us to ratify any conventions we do not freely choose to ratify, or to enact any legislation—either federal or state—with respect to the standards suggested in I.L.O. conventions or recommendations, that our legislative bodies do not choose to enact. The only requirement of our membership is that the "appropriate authorities" shall receive the I.L.O. proposals and consider what, if any, action they may wish to take with respect thereto.

In other words, any apprehensions that may exist are concerned with

what federal and state legislative action may be taken. We are in a sorry state indeed if we have so little faith in our own system of government and in our elected representatives.

There should be no doubt by either management, labor or government in any of the free countries of the world that the International Labor Organization is performing a function vital to the preservation of democratic free peoples as well as spearheading international efforts for the improvement of conditions under which working people earn their bread and spend their lives.

This policy is fully recognized in the foreign policy of the United

States. It is fully recognized by all non-Communist labor movements in the world. It would also seem that the work of the I.L.O. is vital to the interests of free enterprise in the world. In contributing to the improvement of working conditions, particularly in the lesser developed countries, it is contributing to the foundations of freedom and democracy without which free enterprise is impossible.

Employers, above all, should realize that it is where the conditions of workers are oppressive that revolutions become possible and result in the greatest harm to free enterprise.

The free trade union movement is one of the greatest bulwarks against

totalitarianism and Communist imperialism, as well as one of the cornerstones of the International Labor Organization.

Statements made either domestically or abroad which disregard the true functions of the I.L.O. and cast it in a false light not only hinder the effectiveness of the I.L.O. but are blows against the free world.

There should be no doubt, particularly in the United States, that the work which is carried on by the International Labor Organization is in the interests of labor and management under the private enterprise system and is making a substantial contribution to the preservation of freedom and democracy in the world.

Report From **TEXAS**

By **WILLIAM J. HARRIS** and **PAUL C. SPARKS**

President and Secretary, Respectively, Texas State Federation of Labor

TO the casual observer, it might seem that organized labor in Texas has had nothing but a bed of thorns during the past year, but a closer look shows that there are some roses among the thorns.

True, the Legislature passed the most vicious anti-labor bill yet to shame the statute books, which already were overflowing with anti-labor laws. True, labor in Texas has been surrounded by injunctions which prevent unions from performing their legitimate functions. True, most Congressmen from Texas have voted day after day against the best interests of the working people.

The thorns have indeed been numerous and painful. But there has also been a rosier side.

During the past year hundreds of union leaders from all over the state poured into Austin, the capital, while the legislative battles were raging. When they returned home it was with a new and vigorous determination to reward labor's friends and defeat the workers' enemies.

Labor's efforts forced a toning-down of the worst provisions of the Parkhouse bill, while labor support helped to bring about the passage of a number of desirable laws.

In the appellate courts Texas labor

has worked toward hard-and-fast rules that would halt the issuance of midnight injunctions. These sweeping writs, as in olden times, are being used to destroy labor's basic rights.

In the field of organization during the past year, A. F. of L. unions time and again have won the right in elections to represent the workers in the growing industries of Texas.

The Texas State Federation of Labor has substantially increased the number of affiliated organizations, and the total number of members represented has reached an all-time peak.

In the important field of public relations organized labor in Texas has taken a great forward step.

Despite the many obstacles, there has been worthwhile progress.

One man was at the center of the two biggest attacks on organized labor in our state during 1951. Herman Brown, multi-millionaire contractor and gas pipeline owner, who has become rich via government contracts and substandard wages, is that man. In legislative and court battles it was Brown who directed and financed the principal moves to destroy the trade



President Harris appears at the left, Secretary Sparks at the right

unions of Texas. As long ago as October, 1949, Brown went into District Court at Austin to ask for a sweeping injunction to prevent ninety-two labor organizations — from the American Federation of Labor itself down to the smallest locals in the principal cities where he operates—from doing or saying anything which might be considered as opposing Herman Brown or the company known as Brown and Root, Inc.

For six months the unions were blocked, by successive ten-day restraining orders, from so much as expressing an objection to Brown's notorious anti-labor policies. At the end of six months of hearings, during which Brown's attorneys brought one union man after another to the stand in an effort to make out a case against the unions, Judge Charles Betts issued a "temporary" injunction which forbade the unions and their members to picket Brown and Root—regardless of the legality of picketing—to label Brown or his company as unfair or to do anything else (except possibly think) against his unfair, wage-depressing policies.

Mullinax, Wells and Ball, attorneys for the Texas State Federation of Labor, together with attorneys for some of the individual union organizations affected, appealed Judge Betts' "temporary" injunction to the Third Court of Civil Appeals, an intermediate state appellate court. The case was argued there last July.

Last month the long-awaited decision came down. The appellate court ruled that while Judge Betts had the authority to enjoin illegal picketing, trade unions have an unquestionable right to engage in legal picketing for legal objectives. This decision, after sixteen long months, is an important victory for the working people of Texas and it is a setback for the anti-union Brown and Root outfit.

Unfortunately, during the sixteen months that the illegal injunction was in effect, Brown and Root obtained more government contracts than any other contractor in Texas, the work to be done with low-paid labor toiling under oppressive conditions. Through his wage-depressing policies Herman Brown has taken millions of dollars out of the communities of Texas which would have been spent with merchants and other businessmen. Thus it is seen that the illegal injunction not only injured organized labor



but the people of the state as a whole.

In the legislative arena, Herman Brown was again the moving spirit in the drive to destroy organized labor. There his vehicle was a bill sponsored by Senator George Parkhouse of Dallas. This was quite a bill. It proposed up to ten years in the penitentiary and fines up to \$10,000 for agreeing to make membership or non-membership in a union a requirement for a job.

Anti-labor lobbyists engineered the passage of this vicious bill in the Texas Senate by a vote of 21 to 9. The presence of nine Senators who would oppose the bill is testimony not only to the evil character of the measure but also to the growing political strength of organized labor in Texas. In 1947, when the Legislature passed nine anti-labor bills, there were only a scattered few Senators who were willing to stand up against them.

After passing the Senate the measure went to the House of Representatives. The anti-labor lobbyists didn't find the going so smooth in the House as they had in the Senate. The Texas State Federation of Labor called on local unions all over the state to pitch in and help. During the course of the legislative battle more than 500 union leaders from all over Texas came to the capital. Buttonholing their local

legislators, they pointed out the malevolence of the Parkhouse bill.

For weeks friendly House members kept this vicious bill from passing. They whittled it down to eliminate some of the worst features, such as the penal provisions. But bit by bit the legislators opposing the bill were hacked away, particularly those from the rural areas. The anti-labor lobbyists threatened them with dire consequences and backed up their threats by getting influential local businessmen, who had no personal interest in the measure, to bring heavy pressure on the members.

Finally, the vicious anti-labor bill passed and was signed into law by Governor Allan Shivers.

THE Parkhouse bill and the tense struggle which it caused did one great service to organized labor in Texas. Hundreds of union leaders who had worked so hard in Austin to try to defeat the bill went home with a sharp interest in politics which they had never felt before. They went home with a determination to elect a fair Legislature. The results of this determination will be noted in the Texas elections this year.

Labor didn't lose all the battles in the Legislature. Trade unionists played a big part in passing Texas'

first tax on the natural gas which has been leaving the state practically tax-free. In this battle Herman Brown's slick lobbyists lost out to the combined efforts of the friends of the working man and the farmer.

Another legislative gain was the cutting of the discount rate for lump-sum payment of workmen's compensation from six per cent to four per cent. This was accomplished over the strong objection of the Texas Manufacturers Association.

Labor also helped to win a fight for submission to the people of a constitutional amendment to liberalize old-age pension payments. However, the amendment lost at the polls when labor, along with other supporters, failed to get out and vote in sufficient numbers.

At the close of 1951 Texas labor won one great battle in the courts.

The case is one of the most significant in recent Texas history. It started in July, 1948, when the Teamsters organized the office employees of the Houston and North Texas Motor Freight Lines, Inc., at Dallas. When the company refused to bargain with the union, the employees picketed—and were discharged. District Judge W. L. Thornton of Dallas issued an injunction banning picketing on the ground that there was "no labor dispute." The State Federation of Labor carried the case to the Texas Supreme Court, which refused to review it. Thus the injunction was left intact.

Meantime, the National Labor Relations Board had held that a labor dispute did exist and ordered the company to bargain, to reach an agreement and to reduce it to writing. Reinstatement of the discharged employees with back pay also was ordered.

When the company refused to obey, the N.L.R.B. went into the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals at New Orleans. At the same time union attorneys went back into State District Court seeking dissolution of the injunction. When dissolution was refused, the case once again was taken to the highest state court.

In December the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the N.L.R.B. on every count with the exception of back pay for one employee, who had been offered reemployment by the company and refused it. Back pay and reinstatement in their jobs for the other illegally discharged employees were ordered by the court.

While all this was happening in the federal courts, the state courts delayed action. Although State Federation of Labor attorneys argued the case before the Texas Supreme Court last July, no ruling came down until a few days ago.

Clearly, this dispute belonged in federal jurisdiction, for the company was violating a federal law, the Taft-Hartley Act. The injunction of the state court never should have been issued.

After three and one-half years, the Texas Supreme Court has now dissolved the injunction issued by Judge Thornton. But the high court didn't say that it would stop other injunction-issuing Texas judges from denying labor its legal rights in the future. The Supreme Court merely held that "there exists no theory under which the trial court's injunction in this cause can be continued in effect."

In other words, the Supreme Court casually wrote off three and one-half years of effort on the part of labor to get simple justice and took no steps to block future illegal injunctions and miscarriages of justice.

Until the Texas Supreme Court sets down in black and white some sound rules governing the use of the injunction in industrial controversies, it is to be feared that injunction-issuing judges and anti-union employers will continue to use atrociously unfair methods aimed at the weakening and destruction of organized labor.

The 1951 convention of the State Federation of Labor authorized an increase in per capita tax from five cents to eight cents per month to put a public relations program for labor into operation and also to meet increased State Federation expenses.

Several times in earlier years the delegates in convention assembled had authorized the launching of a public relations program, but not until the last convention was financing provided to make such a program possible. With the increase in the per capita tax, labor's public relations program in Texas has now been launched and is already proving to be a most valuable asset to our movement.

Labor papers throughout the state are being supplied regularly with news stories and pictures. The daily press and radio stations are receiving prompt and accurate information about organized labor's side of con-

troversies and the constructive programs and accomplishments of the trade union movement. Public relations workshops are being conducted throughout the state to establish a working network of public relations chairmen for local unions and other union organizations.

Texas labor now owns the Insurance Company of Texas and the Life Insurance Company of Texas. A. F. of L. unions and members have purchased stock and acquired control. And only a few days ago 73 per cent of the outstanding stock of the Continental Fire and Casualty Insurance Company was purchased. Labor's entry into the insurance field was officially endorsed at last year's State Federation of Labor convention.

POLITICALLY, 1951 was an off-year in Texas. There were no elections other than municipal contests and a few special elections for Congress, the Legislature and on proposed constitutional amendments. So there was no real test last year of the strength of Texas labor at the polls. But in 1952 the union members of Texas get a chance to show whether they will turn out and vote to protect and promote the interests of the plain people or will let the selfish special interests continue to elect their own personal Congressmen and state legislators.

The Texas State Federation of Labor believes that the record shows that worthwhile progress was made by Texas labor during the past year despite hard knocks sustained in the Legislature and at the hands of injunction-issuing judges.

As affiliations continue to increase and as our program gains additional momentum, we are confident that the situation of labor in Texas will steadily improve—in the Legislature, in the courts, in the opinion of the general public and in results obtained for all working men and women.

LLPE Needs Your Support

One dollar makes you a member.
There is no finer investment.

JOIN NOW!

Labor in the Nutmeg State

(Continued from Page 16)

Political Education was formed. It urged all union members to register and undertook the task of educating the working people of the state on the issues of the campaign. The League in that year was able to assist in electing Chester Bowles as governor and sending three good persons to the House of Representatives.

The political experience gained in the 1948 campaign was put to full use in 1950. Connecticut labor again supported Governor Bowles because of his outstanding labor program and also supported Senators Brien McMahon and William Benton, who had both proved their friendship to labor.

The registration of union members in 1950 was made a joint task with the C.I.O., the Machinists and the railway brotherhoods. The names of all union members were sent to a central pool. The names were checked against the lists of the 169 towns of the state to determine who was registered and who was not registered.

Those members who were shown to be not qualified to vote were sent cards directly from this joint labor political committee. In addition, the officers of the respective local unions made personal contact with the unregistered members and urged them to register in order not to lose their votes. As a result of this hard work by labor, Connecticut for the first time in many years had a net increase in the number eligible to vote.

The second phase of labor's pre-election activity involved education. The joint committee prepared an advertisement for use on all buses in the state and a special newspaper edition covering the issues of the campaign and the reasons for labor's support of Governor Bowles and other endorsed candidates. In addition, the newspapers of L.L.P.E., the Machinists and railroad labor prepared and distributed special issues devoted to Connecticut. The day before election 250,000 special pamphlets were passed out at shop gates throughout the state, urging the people to be sure to get out and cast their ballots.

On Election Day large numbers of cars and workers were ready to transport citizens to the polling places. The turnout at the polls was most gratifying. Instead of the usual 150,000 drop in off years, there was an actual

drop of less than two per cent. Connecticut's two liberal Senators were both victorious. However, Governor Bowles failed to win another term.

We should not omit the fact that, while the Connecticut branch of Labor's League for Political Education endorsed the Democratic candidates in 1950, many A. F. of L. members with Republican ties were active on behalf of that party's nominees. They formed a Republican Labor Committee, which functioned on a relatively minor scale during the campaign.

Governor Lodge, who succeeded Chester Bowles, has appointed a committee to study sickness insurance. This committee has no member from organized labor, but it does have an insurance company representative.

The Republican Party offered to increase unemployment compensation benefits about \$4 a week, but in return it demanded that workers should give up as much in benefits as they were gaining. This was to be done

by changing the qualifications for eligibility.

Connecticut labor has been fortunate that no unfavorable legislation, such as a state anti-closed shop law, has been passed. As we know, labor in a number of other states has not fared so well in this respect.

A capable and hard-working Executive Council has given splendid cooperation to the officers of the Connecticut Federation of Labor in their efforts to build the strength and prestige of the A. F. of L. in the state. The present writers are deeply grateful for this fine cooperation.

In order to safeguard labor's interests and to contribute to the welfare of all our people, the secretary-treasurer has accepted membership on the Regional Wage Stabilization Board, the Federal Advisory Council on Social Security, the New England Planning Committee, the New Haven Rent Advisory Board, the Community Chests and Councils and the American Federation of Teachers' Commission for the Reconstruction of Education.

Others of the Connecticut Federa-



Dutch Premier Willem Drees is a guest at home of an A. F. of L. worker in Bridgeport. Later Premier Drees went to Washington

tion of Labor's official family are serving on the State Prevailing Wage Commission, various State Wage Boards, the State Civilian Defense Commission, Personnel Appeals Advisory Boards, the Advisory Board of the Unemployment Compensation

Commission and a number of local Boards of Education.

In the opinion of most of the members of the Connecticut Federation of Labor, the outlook for the A. F. of L. movement in this state is bright. Despite the difficult problems which all

working people and their unions face today, we feel confident that labor in Connecticut will continue to advance. Our objective is further progress, and toward that objective the Connecticut Federation of Labor and its affiliated units will be working constantly.

Educating British Workers

By C. H. HARTWELL

TRADE unionists in Britain are going to participate in a great educational drive. Leading the campaign will be the Trades Union Congress, whose General Council has told affiliated unions to be ready to give close attention to suggestions for an education program which they will receive from T.U.C. headquarters.

New duties, a T.U.C. journal has declared, are continually being thrust on the British trade unions.

"In forming judgments and grappling with problems," the publication noted, "experience is a good teacher. It may even be the best teacher. But need it be the only one?"

The T.U.C. is expected to urge that British trade unions should spend more money to give their members a broad education, with special emphasis on economics and political science, to equip them to relate their own experience to workaday problems.

Moreover, there will no doubt be a reminder to unions that the business of getting better wages, longer vacations and healthier working conditions is becoming more scientific. And the fact that so much of British industry is now under public ownership means that unions have to convince not only management of the justice of their claims; they have to convince the public, too.

In preparing its recommendations to the affiliated unions the T.U.C. is reinforced by a resolution carried at the recent annual convention calling for intensive education of trade union members in modern industrial developments. Only by an expansion of their educational facilities, the resolution said, would the unions of Britain become competent to examine new techniques, protect workers' standards and fulfill their obligations in joint consultative machinery.

A good example has already been

set by the T.U.C. itself. More than 1,000 worker-students take advantage each year of the educational opportunities offered by the T.U.C. both directly and in conjunction with the universities. Significantly, these facilities have been expanded in two directions since the war—first, by more of the lengthy courses of study in what might be called the academic subjects, economics and social history; second, by the launching of shorter and more intensive courses lasting a week or a month with a more practical syllabus.

Courses in basic production and management techniques, started as an experiment back in February of 1951, proved so successful that a further series has been arranged. Dovelving into them and the more general one-month training courses will be five-day courses in which young trade union officials will be given a much better grasp of negotiating machinery.

They will be told where to get the facts, both economic and financial, about their industries and how to make the most effective use of that information in fashioning wage claims and presenting labor's case either across the table in negotiations with employers or in appearances before wage tribunals.

Chief candidates for these T.U.C. courses are the officers of British trade unionism—the full-time paid officials and the workshop representatives.

The T.U.C. itself would be the first to admit that its educational program, at best, could hope only to take care of the fringe of the many trade unionists who are daily engaged in negotiations on wages and conditions or are in consultation with management on production questions. Moreover, what is organized by the T.U.C. in this way can only be a general guide and a stimulus to fur-

ther and more detailed activity in each industry.

Each union will be encouraged to initiate its own training programs, suited to the needs of the industry in which its members earn their living. The smaller unions, whose resources may not permit them to provide education facilities singly on the scale that is required, will be advised to use their persuasive powers to get the federation of unions to which they belong (engineering, printing, building and so on) to prepare the programs.

Many of the more important British unions are already well advanced with their educational and training programs.

The Shoemakers and the Weavers are having their officials trained by industrial consultants. The General and Municipal Workers are sending their paid officials to eight technical colleges to learn about work-study techniques.

The Transport and General Workers Union has undertaken the training of shop stewards, 200 of whom recently went through a course of study in six months.

These ventures in education indicate a growing appreciation among trade unionists that, with the changing pattern of industrial life in Britain, the country's trade unions can no longer let their representatives learn their jobs by the old-fashioned, slow process of trial and error.

ATTEND
and take part
in your
UNION MEETINGS



A. F. of L. leaders of the Southern states were in attendance at the Memphis meeting

Action at Memphis

SOUTHERN leaders of the American Federation of Labor decided last month, at a conference held in Memphis, to intensify organizational efforts in Dixieland. Harry E. O'Reilly, national director of organization, and J. L. Rhodes, regional director, were on hand for the important meeting, which was attended by the top leaders of labor in the Southern states.

Industrial expansion is now taking place in the South at an accelerated rate, it was pointed out. Thousands of new jobs are opening up, and there is an urgent need to bring the benefits of organization to the new employees in Southern industry as well as to the vast numbers of other Southern workers who have not yet been brought into the family of union labor, the conference was told. These views were endorsed unanimously.

Brother O'Reilly commended the Southern leaders for the excellent work they have already accomplished. He said that trade unionists in the South often have the idea that their region is the only one which still has a large army of unorganized workers. The facts belie this notion, he declared.

Other parts of the country also have a tremendous organizing job before them, Brother O'Reilly said, adding that the A. F. of L. has done well in the South and, in his opinion, will press forward successfully during the months ahead with the organization of those Southern wage-earners who still lack the economic protection and benefits of militant, sound trade unionism.

Director of Organization
Harry O'Reilly discussed
future unionization tasks



John D. Connors, director of the Workers Education Bureau, the educational arm of the American Federation of Labor, discussed questions in the field of workers' education with the conferees. William McSorley of Labor's League for Political Education called for intensified efforts this year by trade unionists of the South in the vital field of political education.

In the organizing campaign which will be pushed throughout the South during coming months, it was agreed that there must be even closer cooperation than in the past between the officers of the State Federations of Labor and the city central bodies and the organizers of the American Federation of Labor and of the national and international unions. Closer cooperation will produce excellent organizing results, it was predicted.

A significant achievement of the Memphis conference was in the educational field. An advisory committee of the Southern A. F. of L. Labor Institute for Worker Education was named.

The presidents and secretaries of the fourteen State Federations of Labor in the South all will serve as members of the advisory committee.

An executive committee of the advisory group was selected. The executive committee comprises Edward H. Weyler of Kentucky, chairman; Stanton E. Smith of Tennessee, secretary, and E. H. Williams of Louisiana, Dean Baugh of Oklahoma and W. L. Hines of Mississippi.

It will be the responsibility of the advisory committee to apply itself to the big problem of improvement and amplification of educational facilities for the South's working people.



Ontario's Club Whitesands is a recreational paradise

CHEMICAL WORKERS' CAMP

The International Chemical Workers Union has acquired and is operating beautiful Club Whitesands in Ontario, Canada. The camp is for recreational use by the members of the A. F. of L. affiliate and their families. The property embraces eighty acres and a mile of shoreline on Lake Catchacoma. Modern cottages are available for guests. The main lodge houses dining rooms, card rooms, a cocktail bar, a gift shop and various camp offices.



A launch on Lake Catchacoma

Guests take their ease under the trees



Here is a good spot for loafing





At A. F. of L. Building in Washington, visiting French trade unionists are addressed by Boris Shishkin

Labor NEWS BRIEFS

►Massachusetts trade unionists will have an opportunity to compete for two \$1500 fellowships this year. The Committee on Education of the Massachusetts Federation of Labor announces that, in addition to the annual Robert J. Watt Fellowship, established to perpetuate the memory of the beloved late international representative of the American Federation of Labor, there is offered the Massachusetts Federation of Labor Memorial Fellowship.

►Local 1071, Paint and Brush Makers, San Francisco and Oakland, Calif., has won a seventh paid holiday, Washington's Birthday. Other recent gains made by the union are a wage increase and health plan for workers in San Francisco and a wage increase for those in Oakland.

►Local 657, Teamsters, has gained an increase of \$4 in base pay and an increase in weekly guaranteed pay of \$4.50 for its members employed by the San Antonio, Tex., branch of the National Biscuit Company.

►The Blacksmiths at the All-Steel Equipment Company, Aurora, Ill., have won wage increases and a management agreement to reopen the wage issue if there is any change in the wage stabilization program. Improvements in working conditions were also secured by the union.

►The Office Employees have won an election conducted among the office and clerical workers of the Chicago Pneumatic Tool Company plant located at Utica, N. Y. There were 168 votes cast, and of this number the A. F. of L. union received 138.

►Members of sixteen locals of the Electrical Workers are the beneficiaries of an 8.4 per cent wage increase obtained from the New England Power Company. A cost-of-living clause and Blue Cross coverage are included in the agreement.

►Some members of Local 16, Sheet Metal Workers, Portland, Ore., have left for North Africa where they will help to build air bases.

►Local 270 of the Upholsterers, Shelbyville, Ind., has negotiated a new contract with the J. L. Chase Company which calls for an hourly wage increase, the union shop, an escalator clause, improved seniority provisions and other benefits.

►Local 639A of the Retail Clerks, Washington, D. C., has won wage increases for employees of Acme, Safeway and A. and P. food stores. The higher pay was made retroactive to December.

►Locals 62 and 88 of the Bookbinders have organized the Quinn-Boden Company at Rahway, New Jersey. This company is one of the largest in the book manufacturing field.

►The Iron Workers of Chicago have gained a pay boost which brings their hourly rate to \$2.75. The hourly rate of the Sprinkler Fitters in the same city has also been increased to \$2.75.

►The Mailers Union in Boston has won a 15-cent hourly increase.

More than 200 members of Local 626, Brotherhood of Teamsters, Los Angeles, have purchased \$40,000 worth of U. S. defense bonds out of a retroactive wage payment. The back pay averaged \$250 and the average bond purchase amounted to \$200. A Treasury Department representative who delivered the bonds praised the members and the union for their contribution to national defense.

Voluntary labor of members of Local 1308, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, Lake Worth, Fla., has built a fine new home for the union. The local was chartered in 1912. There were twelve men in the group of charter applicants thirty years ago. Eleven are dead. L. S. McGill, the lone survivor, is still active in carpentry circles.

Division 1211, Street and Electric Railway Employees, has won two representation elections conducted by the National Labor Relations Board in Indianapolis.

Approval of the Wage Stabilization Board has given the Meat Cutters in Indiana's Calumet area an increase of \$6.50 weekly. This is in addition to a \$3 boost which was won last May.

Local 201 of the Roofers, Albuquerque, N. M., has won an increase of 12½ cents an hour, retroactively, and an additional 5 cents an hour.

Local 171, Metal Polishers, has reached an agreement with the Aluminum Finishing Corporation, Indianapolis, which calls for wage increases ranging from 10 to 15 cents an hour. This is the first contract between the company and the union.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers Union has announced gifts of \$609,000 to various philanthropic and labor causes in the United States, France, Italy and other countries.

Local 438 of the Plasterers, La Porte, Ind., at a recent meeting with contractors and a government conciliator, won the balance due on their contract, retroactive to last August.

Local 525, Painters, Louisville, Ky., has won an increase of 10 cents an hour, retroactive to April, subject to approval by the Wage Stabilization Board.

Division 1069, Street Railway Employees, has settled its dispute at Richmond, Ind., winning wage increases ranging to 14 cents an hour.

Local 394, Teamsters, Des Moines, was victorious in a strike forced upon the union by the Gamble Robinson wholesale grocery.

Local 28, Photo Engravers, Newark, N. J., has won a Labor Board election and bargaining rights at the Terminal Engraving Company, Hoboken, N. J.

Local 997 of the United Auto Workers, A. F. of L., has reached an agreement on a new two-year contract with the General Electric Company at Danville, Ill. The agreement calls for an improved seniority clause and protection of pay standards for workers transferred from one operation to another.

Local 398, Teamsters, Rochester, N. Y., has won a wage increase and will petition the Wage Stabilization Board for an additional increase after agreeing on a new contract with the Rochester Concrete and Aggregates Association.

Local 45 of the Roofers, San Diego, has won a 25-cent-an-hour increase, subject to Wage Stabilization Board approval. The new rate is \$2.37½ an hour. It will rise to \$2.50 on April 1.

The Upholsterers Union in Chicago has won a 5 per cent increase for about 1,600 workers employed at the Kroehler Manufacturing Company. The boost is retroactive to last June.

Local 184, Grain Millers, and the Acme-Evans Company, Indianapolis, have agreed on a new contract which calls for an increase in wages.

Local 1461 of the State, County and Municipal Employees, Powers, Mich., has gained a wage increase, seniority and a grievance committee.

Asia's Plantation Workers

(Continued from Page 9)

Labor College has not as yet appeared. Hundreds of workers throughout Asia look to this A. F. of L. idea as an instrument for their liberation.

They know that once the common laborer of Asia can go to a school and receive a thorough education in the organization and administration of free trade unions, the trained trade union workers can return to their own people, establish free trade unions and employ these unions for the liberation of Asia's oppressed toilers.

American trade unionists, in the tradition of Samuel Gompers, know that self-organization of the working people created one major vital organ of our democratic society. We have

no class warfare in America because our unions have played such an important part in building a classless society in our country. Just as Thomas Jefferson was in a sense the father of American political democracy, so Samuel Gompers is the father of American economic democracy.

There are many decent planters throughout Asia who want to do the right thing by their workers. Several governments of Asia are favorably disposed to the free organization of the workers. But until there is sufficient and widespread labor education in Asia and massive free trade union organization on the plantations, the plantation system with its

evils will continue to offer fuel for the Communist counter-revolution.

The American Federation of Labor has blazed the way in Asia in driving to the heart of the problem. That is why to many Asian workers the name of Sam Gompers and the symbol of the A. F. of L. are a lighthouse pointing the way to a free, classless, humane and lusty democratic society.

**HAVE YOU
REGISTERED
TO VOTE?**

WHAT THEY SAY

W. L. McFetridge, president, Building Service Employees International Union—Is Russia



a slave state? As a former governor of New York used to say, let's look at the record. When the United States delegate to the U.N. Economic and

Social Council—at the insistence of the American Federation of Labor—charged Soviet Russia with an "inhuman system" of forced labor, he presented affidavits from persons who had themselves suffered in Soviet labor camps. The Kremlin screamed in anger, but it would allow no investigators to go in and determine whether there were 2,000,000 slaves or 20,000,000 slaves in Stalin's forced labor camps. Even the apologists for the Kremlin concede that the workers in the Soviet empire do not have the right to change jobs or criticize the regime or protest against low wages or factory speedups. But we aren't talking about the rights of free labor. We are talking about slavery. From the days when Christians were put in chains by Roman emperors to the days of Hitler and Stalin, those who believe in freedom have always had to oppose those who practice slavery. That is why the A. F. of L. has invested so much money, energy and resources in fighting Soviet-directed world communism.

Maurice J. Tobin, Secretary of Labor—In hot war and in cold war,



American labor has led in our struggles for freedom, human betterment and peace. Down through the years American labor has contributed to our progress—

economically, politically and spiritually. In hot war and in cold war, labor has given its strength without stint. The toil, sweat and treasure of our workers have supported the men

in uniform on far fronts and near, and their production has armed the fighting men and kept the home economy healthy. Over and above this continued effort, American labor has thrown itself wholeheartedly into the worldwide war of ideas. American labor was first in repudiating communism and imperialism. Labor was quick to point out that one cannot buy security by forfeiting freedom. Labor pointed out that the workers of Russia and the other Iron Curtain countries have lost freedom and security and gained only chains. American labor is a shield against creeping "take it easy" tendencies which would let inflation weaken our people and our economy. American labor is taking part more and more in international affairs, supporting our foreign aid program and carrying the gospel of freedom, betterment and peace to the peoples of the world.

Lewis G. Hines, special representative, American Federation of Labor—



In many different ways the American Federation of Labor is serving the interests of the people of this nation as a whole. A basic doctrine of the American Federation

of Labor is that, to be a good trade unionist, one must first be a good citizen. No group knows better than labor that liberty and democracy are not abstract terms but concrete, tangible values which are essential to a moral and progressive civilization. The only environment in which a labor movement such as ours can thrive is that of a free democracy. We have been among the beneficiaries of our form of government and of our kind of social and economic system. We are prepared to lend all of our energies and all of our resources to defend them against their enemies. There are people who pose as champions of liberty but to whom liberty really means the license of a few to take advantage of the rights of the many. There are other people in our

country who prize the right of individual liberty so highly that they think it is much too good for the common people. The American trade union movement, on the other hand, seeks to make the principles of liberty and democracy a practical, meaningful reality for everybody.

Martin P. Durkin, president, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry—A few



short years ago members of the United Association put out of their minds the meaning of war.

World War II had come to an end. Our members in the armed forces put down their arms and picked up their tools. Those who had served on the home front returned to peacetime work. For a scant few years there was peace—of a kind. Then there came a cloud of suspicion that perhaps this peace would not endure, and today men once again speak of the possibility of war. While none of us knows where the forces of international relations may be taking us, we all know what we are leaving behind—peace. Again trade unionists have been called upon to surrender some of the freedom of collective bargaining. Once more there are government boards and commissions to regulate wages and conditions.

Edward J. Volz, president, International Photo-Engravers Union—Con-



ventions are great American institutions. Possibly nowhere else in the world does a convention hold the same significance and promise that it does in this country. The

reason for this is simple and obvious. for nowhere else in the world is there the same assurance of complete freedom to express one's thoughts and opinions without answering to any authority except our own conscience. It is well that people meet frequently, in convention session and otherwise, and thus endeavor to keep abreast of the times and plan accordingly.

A COMMON PROBLEM

THE March wind blew the full skirts of the girls as the group turned the corner of Main Street, and Bethany gasped as a sudden extra-powerful gust lifted her scarf and sent it flying. Rodney scurried after it and soon caught it. "Thanks loads," said Bethany. "Goodness! Trying to hold down a scarf or skirt in this terrific wind is just about like trying to hold down the cost of living these days."

"Which reminds me," said Marie, turning to get her face out of the wind, "we are going to have to do something about the cost of the Junior Union food bill for the tri-city conference. Did Bill say anything to you about it, Rodney?"

"Yeah. He has been trying to find out what restaurant or club will give us the best dinners for the best price, and they are all pretty high."

"I was talking to Mother about it yesterday," said Marie, "and she said it's no wonder the price of food is so high when there doesn't seem to be much stabilization as yet. Of course, the whole cost of living is going up all the time."

"Which all comes under the heading of inflation," said Rodney.

"Well, it surely is difficult for a person to know what to do or how to plan ahead very far," declared Marie. "We could have had our program all set up, but we haven't got any place that will promise us exactly what we can get for our money."

"It's like Dad said the other night," said Bethany. "The working men and women are glad to do their share and take their full part in all necessary wage controls, but they don't think anything at all of the idea of having wages frozen while prices keep going up, up—just like that lady's hat across the street."

"Here I go again," shouted Rodney, as he tore after the flying hat.

He succeeded in catching it. After returning the hat to its grateful owner, he had to run to overtake his friends at the next intersection.

"I would have been here sooner," Rodney panted, "but I became the victim of an overly appreciative soul."

"We thought we had lost you for sure," said Bethany. "That was Mrs. Perkins, wasn't it?"

"Yes. She wanted to give me a reward just for catching her hat."

"Oh, she's nice," said Marie. "Once she had our whole bunch over to her house for an all-day outing, and we were entertained like princesses."

"Well, maybe she'll send me a couple hundred bucks reward," said Rodney with a grin. "She did ask my name, and I told her. Then she wanted my address. See you tomorrow, kids," he called as he turned at the corner to head for home.

It was indeed a great surprise to Rodney that evening when he was called to the telephone to find that it was Mrs. Perkins on the line. She asked him and his two companions of the afternoon to stop at her home the following day after school. Rodney thanked her for her kind invitation.

At school the next morning Rodney told the girls of Mrs. Perkins' invitation. They were as surprised as he had been. After a bit of discussion they decided to go with him to visit the lady of the great house.

It was with a feeling of excitement that they approached the Perkins mansion. They were most cordially received by Mrs. Perkins, and she soon had them at ease and busy telling her about themselves and their school work. They also told her with enthusiasm about their beloved Junior Union, which had such a large part in their lives.

"You may be surprised to know that I used to be a union member myself, a long time ago," said Mrs. Perkins. "My husband was, too, before his death. Oh, yes. He was a real union man. He got his own shop in time, and it was a union shop, fully organized. All A. F. of L. Mr. Perkins made money and he invested wisely. Then, all too soon, he died. I greatly miss the days of our trade

union times together, and I am so glad to hear you young people speak of your Junior Union and your union ideas and ideals. They are fine ideals, truly fine. The whole nation owes a great debt of gratitude to organized labor for its contributions."

"But we don't look upon it as a debt," said Bethany.

"We think it's our duty," said Rodney, "to give support at all times to the best interests of our country, to keep informed and to do our share to keep our country free and strong."

"Yesterday when it was so terribly windy," said Marie, "we were joking about our flying skirts being like the high cost of living. Your hat, Mrs. Perkins, entered into the conversation, too. That was when the wind suddenly sailed it up in the air." Marie paused and smiled at their hostess. "We were planning for our tri-city Junior Union conference, and were wondering about where to have our banquet."

Mrs. Perkins spoke up at once.

"Why not have it here?" she suggested. "Hire all union people to prepare and serve it, and the place is yours for the conference if you wish. Nothing would make me happier."

Mrs. Perkins' offer was almost too much for the three young visitors to grasp. Then Rodney spoke.

"We thank you ever so much, Mrs. Perkins," he said. "Our committee would have to decide, but it certainly sounds wonderful. Can we let you know later?"

"Of course. And I do hope you will let me help you young people from time to time with your Junior Union. Remember, I really have a just claim to be interested in you and your organization because I, too, was a trade union member for many years. Now I have lots of time and need to become active again in something near and dear to me. Please, my young friends, do think kindly of my offer and let me have a part in your tri-city conference."

27 27

No 273830

This Is to Certify That

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Smith
DIRECTOR

No 273830
1952
LABOR LEAGUE for POLITICAL EDUCATION

"I have mine.

Do you have yours?"

Do you have your membership card in Labor's League for Political Education? If you don't have your card yet, don't delay any longer. It's a wonderful feeling to belong to Labor's League. It gives you a sense of being a full citizen—a *participating* citizen. Remember, it costs only one dollar to join L.L.P.E. There is no finer investment that any American—man or woman—can make. Don't put it off. Join L.L.P.E. today.

Let's All Join Labor's League